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# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JANUARY, 1930.

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# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

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## THE UNIVERSITY AND THE FUTURE<sup>1</sup>

Throughout the entire fabric of that vesture of the invisible which we call Nature, there is woven, up and down and across, a double thread of need and satisfaction. In those parts of the pattern of that vesture in which the weaver, Life, has not yet fully developed the golden motif of intelligence, the two threads entwine about one another in the immediate mutual service that man calls instinct. But when intelligence appears—as we assume, though not always on complete evidence, it has appeared in humanity—need and its satisfaction begin a game of hide-and-seek that sometimes puts the world between them; as the satisfaction of the need of peculiar knowledge sends an apparently intelligent human being from America to China on the quest of dinosaurs' eggs for a breakfast of the intellect.

There are two developing motifs in the pattern of human life today which seem to me—exercising such measure of intelligence as the weaver has granted me—to stand to one another in this relationship of mutual need and satisfaction. One is the demand of youth for liberation from externally imposed restrictions on its experience—a demand as old as life itself yet naturally new to each new embodiment of that life ; the other is the increasing tendency to draw humanity together into larger and larger groupings of affinity and mutual interest.

<sup>1</sup> The substance of the Convocation Address of the 1929 Summer Session of the Iowa State University. Exclusively published in Asia in the *Calcutta Review*.

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The complementary relationship between these two motifs *is not immediately realisable* by the mind. They may even at first glance appear as foes. Liberation might well be the slogan of nascent anarchy, and regard a movement towards synthesis as the conspiracy of an enemy. And it would be right if the whirlpools on the river of life were completely separate entities unrelated by the onward moving water. But Nature has placed this among the impossibilities, and decreed the ultimate futility of all efforts towards separation. The correctives inherent in the ever developing Life must in the end, if not before the end, prevail amongst the nominally separate forms which that Life assumes. Between the individual and the group, between the group and the total, there can be no permanent disruption. A liberation that sought—if such were possible—a wholly unitary satisfaction would only achieve satiety, which is slavery. True liberation finds its true satisfaction in ever widening bonds of mutual relationship.

This optimistic view of apparently antagonistic human relationships is true, as all optimism is true, or at least more true than pessimism. But it is not a truth to be rested upon. It is rather a truth to inspire to confident effort that group within the temperamental caste system of humanity who are sensitive to the efflorescence of young life and who desire to serve it towards the solution of the problems of the adjustment of the individual and the others,—I mean the group of natural educators.

On the one hand the educator finds a human individual; on the other, the individual's universe,—that vast synthesis of substances, orders, qualities, powers, materials, which the interactions of nature and humanity have elaborated from the simple root of universal Life. The whole business of education is the intelligent, fruitful, happy adjustment of developing youth to its environment which is also developing. The present "revolt of youth"—as it has been somewhat melo-dramatically called—is a symptom of the failure of such adjustment.

The failure of education to adjust youth to its universe, external and internal, is, I am convinced by long thought and experience, due to the fact that, while educational theory, taken as a whole, contains all the needed means to adjustment, educational practice, as decided by persons and circumstances outside the domain of theory, has only dealt with a part of the student's nature, and for an inadequate purpose. It has not sought to adjust an individual human synthesis of growing desires and capacities to the synthesis of its environment. It has only sought to push a more or less trained mental unit into the melee of relatively polite antagonisms called "life" for the satisfaction of desires that are mostly at a level lower than the desires of the mind. Recently modern education has discovered, or rather rediscovered, the value of physical fitness, and has moved towards the restoration of the Grecian ideal of a sound mind in a sound body. Now it is beginning to consider the education of the feeling-capacity of youth because it is being demonstrated in experimental educational institutions that such education has a therapeutic value in moral delinquency. By and by educational authorities will realise that what can cure moral delinquency can also prevent it. When that point is reached, when aesthetical development is moved from the circumference of education where it is inoperative, to the centre which is its rightful and effective place, education will have taken all but the final step towards the complete expression of the individual human synthesis.

The cardinal defect of education, as I see it, is just this : *it has failed to realise that, despite the emphasis in our time on the mental function of humanity, man is supremely a creative being, a sharer in that vast ferment of productive activity which has originated and which carries on not only the orbital dance of the stellar universes but the electronic dance in his own individual system which makes the living body of man and woman as stupendous a wonder as the celestial galaxy. That universal impulse must find expression. The creative impulse*

*produces the interaction of energy and substance that we call life; and the activities of life, including the mental activity, justify themselves according to the measure of their creativeness.*

In the realms of nature where need and satisfaction are within hail of one another, and the creative impulse expresses itself with the minimum of obstruction to its perpetual flux, it achieves within accepted limitations the exquisite perfections of the crystal and the flower. But in humanity, with its complex instrument of expression, the river of creative energy breaks into a number of distributaries, physical, emotional, mental, which have a tendency to pile in their own exits the deltaic deposits of self-consciousness. Instead of the irrigation of the whole area of life being accomplished, aridity is set up in one section through artificial obstructions; while in another section, whose distributary is forced to carry more than its capacity of the fertilising waters of life, there arises, in seasons of special lightnings from the clouds of desire, the catastrophe of unmanageable floods. Translate this symbolism into the facts of today, and you have the explanation of the hectic and erotic excitements in which youth, denied by its faulty education the opportunity for true and full creative expression in the higher capacities of its nature, seeks a spurious, unstable, and ultimately unsatisfying expression through its relatively lower capacities.

Creation is liberation. What youth has in all ages needed and what it is demanding today under the pseudonym of freedom, is opportunity to create its own subjective universe, not to manufacture an imitation universe on stale objective models. Truth and security are in the demand, likewise falsehood and danger. The elements of unreality that were built into the past will crumble at the touch of new embodiments of reality. Where the new liberation is real it will reinforce and be reinforced by the realities of the past. Reality is dateless. Reality is never in danger. But there is danger of disillusion, disrupt-

tion and unhappiness both to youth and its universe in partial demands and partial fulfilments which project the inescapable creative impulse in one direction to the impoverishment or exhaustion of another, and achieve only exaggeration and instability instead of the joy and repose of *complete* expression.

I underscore the adjective *complete*, for this is the crux of the educational problem. Liberate physical capacity alone or predominantly, and you let loose not a human being but an articulate animal. Liberate feeling alone or predominantly, and you produce folly and uselessness. Liberate both, and you put into operation a double power, which, on the side of the physical, will degrade the divine function of physical creation to the level of sensual gratification without responsibility; and on the side of feeling will sentimentalise the physical relation of the sexes into an erotic obsession, such as pollutes art and entertainment today. Liberate thought alone and you unseathe a ruthless weapon. Cold reason is cold steel. But to liberated thought add liberated feeling and physical fitness made intelligent by knowledge, and you set free an entity in whom judgment, responsiveness and power, energising and at the same time controlling one another, will produce not merely "candidates for humanity" (as an eminent jurist and orientalist has characterised the mass of humanity in a phrase that grants the saving grace of progression to Carlyle's "mostly fools") but approximately decent human beings. And when, with the coming of educational wisdom, the universities of the future realise that thought, feeling and dynamic power are not the essential educable entity, but only the instruments of Man the Maker, and set free the creative spirit in humanity through its characteristic, though not exclusive, modes of expression, the arts and art-crafts, we may then hang out the banners of welcome to the forerunners of a race worthy of the great name of Humanity

The creative impulse in humanity, set free in the education of the future, and moving instinctively towards its source in the

universal life, will restore to education, and through education to the general life of humanity, the expansion of consciousness and the reverence for the Great Life and all its manifestations, which is the essence of religion, and without which all else is held from its fulness, as an artist and his creation are held from intelligibility and fulness if his creative energy is spent on details without constant reference to the ultimate unit of creative totality.

Moving outwards towards expression, the liberated creative impulse—preserving by complete liberation its own integrity, declining servitude to any of its instruments, lifting to its high allegiance humanity's powers of head, heart and body—will release the arts from the burden of the flesh and the bondage of the nerves, and make them the audible, visible and tangible embodiments of man's highest function as creator not only in objects of art but in every expression of life individual and corporate. The creative spirit, mingling with thought, will transform it from automatic futility into the potent contemplation that perpetually plans the New Jerusalem; it will turn feeling from selfish sentimentality into wise compassion that will remove the cruelties both sacred and profane from man's relationship with man and the universe; and it will make action purposeful, pure and joyous.

These capacities and powers, aspirational, creative, intelligent, responsive, dynamic, are for-ever seeking incarnation in the individual. Their progressive, full, co-ordinated liberation in youth should be the impulse and the joy of life; their fruition its justification and glory. Frustrated, they lure or provoke life into distortions, inadequacies, dishonesties of thought, feeling and action. Set free in fulness and equipoise, they disclose their own natural sanctions and develop their own natural controls—sanctions and controls that cannot be moved since they are rooted in the law of human nature that the higher powers of humanity, when given effective expression, control and purify the lower.

It is to a view of the future such as this that I feel the universities must address themselves if they are to serve the progressive individual and collective liberation of humanity out of the oligarchies of the partial and inadequate into the spiritual democracy of completeness. To do so they must provide for the complete synthesised capacities of the individual, a complete and synthesised education; that is to say, for the educable individual, who is at once, though in varying proportions, mystic, creator, thinker, feeler, actor, the universities of the future must provide a curriculum of studies, informational and expressional, in essential religion which is the creative impulse turned inwards, in arts and art-crafts which are the means of expression of the creative impulse turned outwards, in philosophical thinking, in scientific observation, in appreciation of human attainment in all places and times, in organisation and activity.

There are, happily, many indications of searchings towards such a complete education in various parts of the world. What is needed is their unification and effective action. I have tried to present the irreducible minimum of educational necessity, short of which youth cannot find its true liberation through education, nor life its true fulfilment and joy through true liberation. That fundamental need satisfied, all specialisations and adaptations of individual attainment to the affairs of life will be carried out with an efficiency and quality not otherwise possible.

I am glad, as an educational idealist, and a world wanderer in search of affinities in the educational service of humanity, to say, before this great assembly of the State University of Iowa and the public, and in the hearing of invisible thousands through the microphone, that Iowa University is among the wisest contributors to the education of the future. "The Iowa Plan" is a document of first class importance, and I am carrying a copy of it with me to far-off India for the encouragement of those who, like myself, are labouring to bring education on to its individual and racial fundamentals, and to bridge, as soon and as safely as possible, the awful gulf that lies in education in

India between twelve per cent. of literacy and what it should be. Last night I listened with deeply stirred feelings to the choral concert of prize-winners from the schools of the State ; and I understand that instrumental music is similarly encouraged. By and by, I feel sure, a state-wide fostering of the visible arts also will arise, and exhibitions of prize-winning works in sculpture and painting will form part of your periodical celebrations. Your sagacious fostering of the aesthetical expression of youth, your researches into the education of the very young, your care for the sick, your thought for those nominally beyond educational age, are indications of the true vision of the University of the Future as the complete *alma mater* of the citizens of the State.

That vision will encompass no restricted area of human need, but will honour to the fullest extent the claim of every citizen, boy and girl, rich and poor, brilliant and mediocre, to be well born, well educated, and well employed. In honouring that claim the University of the Future will help into life more abundant than anything that humanity has yet experienced a coming generation and its successors whose powers, developed and poised, will exert themselves through the high intensity of balanced activity and repose, to the creation of a world in which the futilities and barbarities of physical antagonisms will be transmuted into the high adventures and mutually beneficent struggles of the immortal Spirit in Man.

JAMES H. COUSINS

## SIR WILLIAM BROWNE AND HIS BRITANNIA'S PASTORALS

Sir William Browne, a descendant of a good family, was born in 1590 at Tavistock in Devonshire. After he had finished grammar school about the beginning of the reign of King James the Fifth, he went to Exeter College where he excelled in the classics and in the Belles Lettres he hardly had an equal. Before he took a degree, he removed to the Inner Temple, London, where he gave more time to the Muses. In the early part of 1624, he returned to Exeter College, where he became the tutor of Robert Dormer, who afterwards became Earl of Carnarvon. On March twenty-fifth, 1624, Browne received permission to be created a Master of Arts although the degree was not conferred upon him until the following November. In the public register of the University, he is recorded as a man well-skilled in all kinds of polite literature and useful arts. "Vir omni humana literatura et bonarum artium cognitione instructus."

William Browne's poetical works brought him in contact with many of the most learned and ingenious men of the age. At the Inner Temple, he was closely associated with Wither and Charles Brooke and Selden, who wrote stanzas which praised the first book of the *Britannia's Pastorals*. With Drayton he was quite intimate, and prefixed some lines in the second edition of the *Polyolbion*; and some of the most charming praise ever written, Drayton wrote in honor of the *Britannia's Pastorals*. "The learned shepherd of fair Hitching Hill" was, as several indications prove, intimate with Browne who was not only familiar with Chapman's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, but also knew the *Hero and Leander* very well. Ben Johnson prefixed to the second book of the *Britannia's Pastorals* some excellent but not extravagant praise. It is said that Pattison possessed at his death only one book, and that was the *Britannia's Pastorals*.



In 1613 was published in folio form the first book of the *Britannia's Pastorals*. It appears that most of it was written before the author was twenty years old.

"Here could I spend that spring of poesy,  
Which not twice ten suns have bestowed on me ;  
And ten the world the Muse's love appears  
In non-ag'd youth, as in the length of years."

In the fifth song of the *Britannia's Pastorals*, he inserted an "elegy on the bewailed death of the truly beloved and most virtuous Henry, Prince of Wales, whose loss was justly a subject of national regret." These pastorals were generally read and admired, and they procured for Browne a great reputation. There seems to be very little about his life, but it is known that he was a man who obtained the highest distinction as a poet in a learned and poetical age, and to whose memory time has not been just. He who was so highly esteemed by the critical Jonson, and admired by the learned Seldon was, a short time after his death, almost forgotten. But the works of a real poet Seldon will be forgotten, and any honors which, through envy or accident, are withheld in one age, are sure to be repaid with interest in another. The present age already has begun to give Browne some of the honor due him, and each subsequent generation will complete the measure of his fame.

Browne's descriptions in his *Britannia's Pastorals* show that he loved nature, and there is much rural imagery which shows the master touch. Although his name rests chiefly upon his largest work, much skill and charm are shown in his various kinds of verse. The *Britannia's Pastorals* is much wider in scope, if one follows the definition given by Pope in his *Discourse on Pastoral Poetry*. He says : "A pastoral is an imitation of the action of shepherds or one considered under that character. The form of this imitation is dramatic, or narrated or mixed with both ; the fable simple, the manners not too polite nor too rustic ; the thoughts are plain, yet admit a little quickness and passion. If we would copy nature, it may be useful to take this idea along

with us that Pastoral is an image of what they call the Golden Age, so that we are not to describe our shepherds as shepherds as they really are, but as they may be conceived then to have been when the best of men followed the employment. We must, therefore, use some illusion to render a Pastoral delightful, and this consists in exposing the best side only of a shepherd's life, and in concealing the miseries." Browne followed this plan in his *Shepherd's Pipe*, a series of eclogues, but, in the *Britannia's Pastorals*, there are stories of Hamadryads and Oreads—figures which seem almost too shadowy to be real, yet they are placed in the most exquisitely rustic landscape. When the story passes to the yellow sands and "froth-girt rocks" washed by the crisped and curling waves from "Neptune's silver, ever shaking breast," or when it touches the mysteries of the ocean world, over which "Thetis drove her silver throne," Browne's fancy is as delicate as when he revels in the fragrance of the woodlands, when the golden and green leaves hide the feathered choir, where the tips of scarlet berries gleam, where the dropping of nuts is heard, and where the active and bright-eyed squirrels leap from tree to tree. The loves, adventures and hardships of Marina, Celadyne, Redmond, Fida, Philocel, Aletheia, Metanvia, and Amintas are no more charming than the descriptions of the black-bird and the dove as they call from tree to tree. They are no more delightful than the pictures of the crystal streams that leap through banks purple with violets, rosy with eglantine, or sweet with thyme, or the thickets where rabbits hide. Then there are word paintings of hidden nooks over which the alders and elms throw many shadows, circles of green grass made by dancing elves, rounded hills shut in by oaks, pines, birches, and laurel where shepherds pipe on oaten straw or shaggy haired satyrs frolic and sleep, and meadows whose carpets of cowslips and mint are renewed each day by nymphs pouring out gentle streams from crystal urns. Huntsmen dressed in green rush through the woods with their hounds at their heels, fishermen are seated by quiet pools, shepherds dance around a May-pole,

and shepherdesses gather flowers for garlands. There are pictures of gloomy caves surrounded by hawthorn and holly that "outdared cold winter's ire," and of sheltering old hermits skilled in the secret power of herbs. Browne's picture of birds is beautiful. He describes a choir where the tiny wren sings the treble, the nightingale the tenor, and the bees the bass. His fairy haunts are equalled only by Herrick and Drayton. In the third book of the *Britannia's Pastorals* is found this lyric :—

"I truly know  
 How men are born and whither they shall go ;  
 I know that like to silk-worms of one year,  
 Or like a kind and wronged lover's tear;  
 Or like the pathless waves a rudder's dent,  
 Or like the lever sparkles of a flint,  
 Or like to thin round cakes with cost perfum'd,  
 Or fireworks only made to be consum'd  
 I know that such is man, and all that trust  
 In that weak piece of animated dust.  
 The silk worm droops, the lover's tears soon shed,  
 The ship's was quickly lost, the sparkle dead;  
 The cake burns out in haste, the firework's done,  
 And man as soon as these as quickly done. "

The *Britannia's Pastorals* shows that Browne was devoted to the streams, dales, and woods of his native Devonshire :—

" Hail, thou native soil ! thou blessed plot,  
 Whose equal all the world affordeth not !  
 Show me who can, so many crystal hills;  
 Such wood-ground, pastures, quarries, wealthy mines;  
 Such rocks in whom the diamond fairly shines. "

And, in another place, he says :—

" Drayton and Browne with smiles they drew  
 From outward nature, still kept new  
 From their own inward nature true. "

Browne continued admirably the Spenserian pastoralism by his lightness, his swift plays of fancy, and by his great impulse toward pure song. He tried to enliven his pastorals by the introduction of a tale, which is similar to a Chaucerian

tale. Like Drayton, he used the homely touches with more felicity than many poets of their day. He seems to be more like Jonson and Campion, yet he is decidedly unique. It was he, and not Jonson, who wrote the "Epitaph on the Countess of Pembroke."

Quiller Couch has said ("Adventures of Criticism," 1894, p. 61): "William Browne is perhaps the easiest figure in our literature. He loved easily, he wrote easily, and no doubt he died easily. He no more expected to be read through at a sitting than he tried to write all the story of Marina at a sitting. He took up his pen and composed: when he felt tired he went off to bed, like a sensible man; and when you are tired of reading he expects you to be sensible and do the same." That is very well said, and needs no comment. In the *Britannia's Pastorals*, there is that peacefulness and quietness of mood such as is found in some of the rare old paintings of scenery; the love of truth is prevalent in all of Browne's lines, and there is a natural ease of cadence. His verse is as refreshing as the perfume of new mown hay, and there is throughout it an Arcadian simplicity. It is doubtful if any one could find more simple beauty than in the lines which describe Marina, who was trapped in a cave, and was fed by a robin red-breast on ripe cherries and strawberries, or the little brothers who were frightened by the mad bull, or the small boy who

".....gotten new

To play his part amongst a skilful crew of choir musicians."

*What Wight He Loved* from the second book of the *Britannia's Pastorals* is unusually interesting and the following is a part of it:—

" Shall I tell you whom I love?  
     Harken then awhile to me;  
 And if such a woman move,  
     As I now shall versify,  
 Be assured, 'tis she or none  
 That I love, and love alone,

Nature did her so much right  
As she scorns the help of art;  
In as many virtues dight  
As e'er yet embraced a heart :  
So much good so truly tried,  
Some for less were deified.

Wit she hath without desire  
To make known how much she hath;  
And her anger flames no higher  
Than may fitly sweeten wrath.  
Full of pity as may be,  
Though, perhaps, not so to me.

Reason masters every sense,  
And her virtues grave her birth,  
Lovely as all excellence,  
Modest in her most of mirth :  
Likelihood enough to prove  
Only worth could kindle love. "

LOUISE A. NELSON

## WEEP NOT FOR ME

Weep not for me when I am gone  
When life's red blood ebbs out of me,  
When mine ears are dinned by the last gong  
Calling me far away from thee.

Weep not for me, beloved one,  
After the Divine Dictator  
Shall say to me, 'Your life is done,  
Come back to your Creator.'

Weep not for me, nor waste thy tears,  
But thank Him for the giving  
To you and I, the long, long years  
Of a happy peaceful living.

Weep not for me, but pray anon  
And pray for thyself too,  
Ere you lack the grit to carry on  
As I would want you to.

If your heart be wrought with anguish,  
I will know my dearest Love,  
And look down on you with languish  
From my Celestial home above.

My lonely soul will seek always  
Your Spirit thru the heavenly space  
In all ethereal halls and by-ways  
My Spirit shall wait for your embrace.

So weep not, nor waste thy tears !  
I only ask of you  
With the few remaining years  
To be forever true !

## AN EXAMINATION OF HUME'S THEORY OF RELATIONS

Hume's philosophy has been aptly described as 'naturalism,' inasmuch as the determining factor in his thinking was the attempt to substitute instinct and belief or feeling for reason in accounting for the facts of human experience. One of his chief aims was to shew that, except with reference to such relations as those upon which mathematical science is based, belief never rests on rational grounds, that the syntheses of reason are merely generalised beliefs. For instance, the assumption of permanent and identical things is a 'natural belief' occasioned by the instincts or propensities of our human nature. The 'plain man' takes his perceptions to be the real things ; and, accordingly, conceives of them as continuing to exist when unperceived, and as remaining identically the same even though they have undergone change. Yet, in the case of visual perceptions, he has only to close his eyes in order to annihilate these perceptions ; and since, on opening his eyes again, the perceptions he has are new perceptions, separated by an interval from the previous ones to say that simply on account of their resemblance to the latter they are identical with them is manifestly unjustifiable. The identification of perceptions with real things is an 'illusion,' due to the mind's propensity to feign ; but the belief in the existence of external objects thus engendered turns out to be *practically successful* in the ordinary affairs of life, although theoretically it can neither be proved nor disproved. So, again, with reference to the self, the existence of a permanent and identical entity cannot be rationally established. Far from the self being a simple substance, and the most certain existent of which we are cognisant (as the Cartesians held), it evinces itself, from the standpoint of reason, as merely a multiplicity of *discreet* experiences. But

we instinctively *believe* in its permanence and identity ; and this belief *works successfully* in all matters of practical life. It is, however, as little capable of being theoretically proved as of being theoretically disproved.

It was certainly unfortunate that T. H. Green, in his examination of Hume's philosophy, ignored this doctrine of belief. But that the doctrine is beset with insurmountable difficulties there can be no question. It virtually assumes the very distinction between the conscious subject and its states which it is postulated to avoid, and which would undermine Hume's fundamental position that the sole constituents of experience are isolated perceptions. In trying to discover the nature of belief, he was compelled to suppose that it was either an 'impression' or 'idea', or a quality of 'impressions' and 'ideas.' The former alternative was precluded, seeing that two persons might have similar ideas in their minds and yet entertain very different beliefs concerning them. It must, therefore, be some quality of 'impressions' or 'ideas'. And the only way in which similar 'impressions' or 'ideas' can differ from one another qualitatively, is, according to Hume, in respect to the 'force' or 'vividness' with which they are endowed, so that we may be said to believe a proposition when our ideas are forceful or vivid, and to disbelieve it when they are faint and weak. Now, in the first place, it is impossible to understand the meaning of the terms 'force' and 'liveliness' as applied to ideas, unless by the term 'idea' be meant an 'image', which was no doubt what Hume did mean. 'Ideas', however, in the sense in which in this context they are relevant, are certainly not 'images,' and on that account alone the theory cannot stand. And, in the second place, even if we could assign a meaning to the phrase 'the vividness of ideas,' we should have the hopeless task on our hands of shewing how differences in respect of this one quality can be used as the basis of a number of important distinctions. The differences between perception and imagination, between memory and imagination, between



belief and doubt are all, according to Hume, due to differences in the liveliness and force of our ideas. Suppose that I (a) remember an isosceles triangle which I drew yesterday, (b) believe that the two angles at the base of an isosceles triangle are equal to one another, (c) imagine an isosceles triangle. How exactly could these processes be distinguished on the view we are considering? <sup>1</sup> In the third place, it is clear that Hume was himself wholly unable to work out this view of belief without calling to his aid, if not in name yet in fact, the mental process which Locke had variously designated as that of combining, distinguishing, abstracting and judging.\* Now whenever Hume finds it impossible to recognise in an 'idea' the mere copy of some original impression, he introduces the qualifying phrase 'manner of conceiving.' Thus, for example, we have an *idea of necessary connexion* when we assert that one thing is the cause of another. This idea, Hume avers, is the reproduction of an impression which the mind *feels* itself compelled to 'conceive in a particular manner.' Yes; but it is the *mind*—not the collection of discrete contents which is all, Hume insists, we are justified in taking the mind to be—that conceives, or, in other words discriminates and judges; and, unless the two ideas of a particular cause and a particular effect can be held together in one act of apprehension and thus be thought of in connexion, it would be simply inexplicable how this 'manner of conceiving' could come about. Now, it may be said in Hume's defence that he admits the inexplicability. In the present context, that is hardly, I think, true. In any case, however, he does allow that we *have* the idea of necessary connexion, an idea, that is to say, which, whether 'fictitious' or not, involves the apprehension of two terms in their togetherness and mutual relation.

<sup>1</sup> Similar difficulties present themselves in any theory of belief as a quality of ideas. And any theory which tries to reduce the mind to a 'bundle of perceptions' is forced to such a theory of belief. For example, Mr. Bartrand Russell (in his *Analysis of Mind*) takes the mind to be a complex of sense and images and interprets belief as a *feeling* which *accompanies* certain of these sense and images.

How, then, can it possibly be maintained that we certainly know of *all* 'perceptions' that they are 'separate and distinct,' when, even from the point of view of empirical observation, we certainly know that *some* ideas are not?

So far as the distinction between 'natural' and 'philosophical' relations is concerned, Hume includes under the former three relations of resemblance, contiguity and causation, while under the latter he includes the seven relations of resemblance, identity, spatial and temporal relations, relations of quantity and number, relations of degree, contrariety, and causation. Obviously these cannot be regarded as two divisions of the same class, because, as Meinong remarks, the genus common to both is wanting. Nor can the way in which these two kinds of relation (if one may use this in exact expression) stand to one another be that of mutual exclusion, seeing that, for example, causation belongs to both lists, contiguity and resemblance would seem as a matter of fact to be both philosophical and natural relations, though not necessarily to subsist together, while there are some philosophical relations (such as distance<sup>1</sup>) which seem to preclude the presence of natural ones. In the long run, it is, however, only 'natural' relations that Hume will admit to be true relations. And with these he couples the view that, by virtue of variations in them, the 'imagination' (which is, as Pringle-Pattison observes, a 'hardly veiled reintroduction' of the conscious self) may determine to group ideas together in particular ways. Association of ideas is, then, the substitute that Hume has to offer for the synthesis that would appear to be essential to knowledge, and it is by the principles of association that he endeavours to explain what are otherwise called judgments of relation. The attempt turns out to be a failure, as Hume himself candidly acknowledges in the Appendix to the *Treatise*. The only combination which, by any show of plausibility, could be accounted

<sup>1</sup> "In a common way," Hume remarks, "we say that nothing can be more distant than such or such things from each other."

for in this manner would be the formation of complex ideas out of simple constituents. But the idea of a relation between two known contents is not rightly to be described as a complex idea,<sup>1</sup> and, as there is no impression from which it could have been derived, Hume was finally obliged to recognise that the association theory of its origin breaks down. Throughout his attempt to employ the theory in this context one can discern a perpetual see-saw between two conflicting methods. On the one hand, association is treated by him as that which gives rise to ideas of relation, and, on the other hand, ideas of relation are treated by him as the features that give rise to association.

The inherent contradictions involved in Hume's treatment will best be brought out by considering the way in which he handles certain of the relations that he enumerates.

(a) The relation of *resemblance* is said to be necessary to relation of any kind, although, as Meinong urges, it would be hard to show how it is involved in such a relation as that of cause and effect. But the fundamental difficulty in Hume's account of resemblance is this. He informs us, on the one hand, that such a perceived object as a 'globe' contains many different resemblances and relations, and, on the other hand, that it consists in 'the impression of a white colour disposed in a certain form.' Now, however, gladly one would accept from Hume acknowledgment of the fact that the content perceived is not, in such a case at least, a simple unit, however readily one would recognise his acknowledgment that 'resemblances and relations' are comprised within this content, yet the acknowledgment must be pronounced to be wholly irreconcilable with his general view. If, in the case cited, the 'globe' is an 'impression,' and if 'relations' are 'ideas,' how can the former contain 'different resemblances and relations?' An

<sup>1</sup> Inconsistently enough Locke had described 'ideas of relation' as complex, and he did so because they involved, in each case, a plurality of compared ideas. But this is obviously no reason for supposing that the 'idea of relation' is itself complex; and, indeed, at other times, Locke speaks of such 'ideas of relation' as succession and power as simple.

*idea* of resemblance can, as Hume is reluctantly compelled to admit, only arise through an act of comparison, by which various 'impressions' are found to be partly identical and partly different. If, then, we have the 'impression' of a 'globe,' that must imply that we have previously gone through a process in which various objects have been perceived and discovered to resemble one another, which means, in other words, that the 'idea of resemblance,' so far from being just a 'related idea,' is the product of an act of judgment. An idea qualified by relation of resemblance to other ideas is, in short, a very different thing from an idea of resemblance,—different, as Green puts it, with all the difference which Hume ignores between sense and thought. If it be urged that, in the case of the complex content just referred to, we first apprehend directly its various features, and *afterwards* discern that these resemble the features of other complex contents we have had before us, then the reply is that by such a contention the difficulty is only thrown a stage further back. If the content now before my mind has various features, these must be distinguished from one another, and the act of discriminating is identical in character with that by which one content is found to resemble another.

(b) Following a distinction which Hume himself does not make, but which is now sufficiently familiar, we may speak of the formal and real relations involved in conscious experience. Under the former are included spatial and temporal relations, which are universal elements in our experience. The discussion of them is opened by Hume with the consideration of a specific problem, the problem, namely, as to whether space and time are, as the mathematicians supposed, infinitely divisible. In conformity with his general view, Hume was bound to maintain that they are not, that such infinite divisibility is a fiction. He persists in regarding the ultimate elements of experience as discrete units, capable of being represented in isolation as ideas. In what orders or classes of impressions are, then, the units of space and time to be found? Hume's answer, when freed from

much ambiguous phraseology, is briefly this. Certain impressions, those, namely, of sight and touch, have in themselves the characteristic of extension, because these impressions (in this context Hume speaks of them as 'points') exhibit a certain order or mode of arrangement,—which order or mode of arrangement is common to both coloured points and tangible points and which considered separately is the impression from which our idea of space is taken. And so, too, in respect of time. All our impressions and ideas are received in a certain order, the order of succession. This *order* is itself the impression from which the idea of time is derived. "The ideas of space and time are no separate or distinct ideas, but merely those of the manner or order in which objects exist."

After what has been already said, it is hardly necessary to emphasise the two-fold inconsistency here,—first, in describing the *order* in which the impressions are arranged as itself an impression, and, secondly, in describing *co-existence* and *succession* as ingredients in an experience which actually consists of isolated units. On the one hand, the 'points' which are said to be in a certain order must be *ex-hypothesi* themselves impressions. If, then, *any* impression can be said to be one of 'coloured (or tangible) points disposed in a certain manner,' this can only mean that the impression in question is or consists of such 'points.' And, indeed, in one passage, Hume expressly describes extension as "a compound impression, consisting of parts or lesser impressions, that are indivisible to the eye or feeling, and may be called impressions of atoms or corpuscles, endowed with colour and solidity." Yet, unless these "lesser impressions" can be regarded as present together, they must follow one another, and thus precede the "compound impression." On the latter supposition, extension would consist of parts none of which could be present at the same time, and all of which must cease to be present before extension itself could come into being. But the former supposition is precluded by what Hume inculcates in regard to time.

It is true he does not assert in so many words that all visual impressions must be successive, but he *does* assert that 'the impressions of touch,' which along with those of sight he had represented as constituting the 'compound impression' of extension, 'change every moment upon us.' And after having made out extension to be a compound of co-existent impressions, he proceeds to speak of the idea of time as derived 'from the succession of our perceptions of *every kinds*, ideas as well as impressions.' The parts of time cannot, he urges, be co-existent; and seeing that 'time itself is nothing but different ideas and impressions succeeding each other,' it would follow that 'the parts of time' are those 'perceptions of every kind' from which the idea of time is derived. If, then, *all* impressions, as parts of time, are successive, how can some impressions, as parts of space, be co-existent? On the other hand, not only does Hume fail to account for the awareness of co-existence, he equally fails to account for the awareness of succession. The bare perception of impression after impression, even supposing such perception were possible, would not of itself constitute such awareness. A succession of perceptions is one thing, a perception of succession is quite another, and from the former to the latter there is 'no road.' How could a sequence of impressions of which no two are present together, undetermined by relation to anything other than the impressions themselves, yield a consciousness of the relation between the moments in which the impressions are given, or of the sum of such moments? As Kant was presently to insist, no apprehension either of co-existence or succession is possible save in reference to a permanent over against which temporal changes can be recognised.

From his view of space and time there follows in Hume's *Treatise* the most extreme empiricism with respect to the nature of mathematical reasoning, an empiricism which does not, however, extend to the propositions of arithmetical and algebraical science. With respect to these, he apparently held that, since

each element of conscious experience is presented as a unit, and since we are capable of considering any complication of facts as a unit, our *manner of conceiving* is absolutely general and distinct, and that upon it there could be based a perfectly accurate and general science, that, namely, of discrete quantities. But in regard to geometrical science, since the data are facts of experience apprehended in a wholly empirical fashion, the results, which rest on comparisons themselves empirical, can never be more than approximations. Geometrical propositions imply an exactitude which does not correspond to actual knowledge. "Though it (*i.e.*, geometry) much excels, both in universality and exactness, the loose judgments of the senses and imagination, yet it never attains a perfect precision and exactness."

Hume's account of mathematical relations, full, as it is, of obscurity and of irreconcilable statements, is in itself a sufficient refutation of his whole theory. From the well-known passage in the *Inquiry*, where the distinction is drawn between relations of ideas and matters of fact (§ iv, pt. 1), one would gather, as Kant did, that, according to him, mathematical propositions are all of them analytical, true on the ground that denial of them would amount to a violation of the law of contradiction. In reasoning on mathematical data, he appears to say, we may proceed by a mere contemplation of our ideas, because the ideas exactly correspond to the impressions, and mathematical propositions have, therefore, a truth or falsity, independent of the concrete existence of the objects which may be implied in them. But, seeing that no more can be got from the 'ideas' than is contained in the original impressions of which they are 'copies,' a relation between ideas must *either* be an actual occurrence, and then, according to Hume's own shewing, its non-occurrence would involve no contradiction, or else 'analytical,' and in that case it would have to be restricted to the content of a single idea, which clearly it is not. And so again, with reference to the argument that, since each impression may be treated as a unit and independently of its concrete

setting, the relations of number may be regarded as at once certain and universal, it is clear that Hume is here making use of a distinction between the process of numbering and the things numbered to which on his theory he was not entitled, and which is indeed totally inconsistent therewith.

But, as we have seen, Hume certainly did not regard all mathematical propositions as analytical ; and with respect to geometrical relations he completely fails to account for the universality and necessity which admittedly they seem to possess. Even the fundamental idea of equality he took to be based on, and to be a copy of, the crude impression of 'equivalence,' of which we have no other standard than that of immediate observation. And when he comes to explain what is meant in geometry by a line, surface, or solid, his failure to do so is no less apparent. Each of these is, he avers, a complex of 'coloured points,' so that one line is equal in length to another if it comprises the same number of 'points.' But these 'points' are so minute and so confused with one another that there is no possibility of counting them. It is, indeed, difficult to treat such a statement seriously. If a line be a collection of 'coloured points,' it can only be made up of coloured surfaces lying side by side, and separated, therefore, from one another. How could these constitute a line, or even a continuous surface ? Not only so. Each 'coloured point' or surface, would be divisible into parts, and these again into smaller parts, and so on indefinitely. Consequently, we should never come upon a line at all. In short, the line of the mathematician is obviously not made up of 'points' of this description ; it is continuous, and any attempt to reduce it to discrete elements is destructive of its very nature.

(c) Coming now to what we have called real relations, relations between matters of fact, we have in them evidently reference to an existent conceived as independent of the momentary state of perceiving. Whenever we assert that something is or that it was or that it will be, our thought seems to connect



what is immediately present with an existent distinguishable therefrom and independent of it. The typical example of such propositions is to be found in those that are concerned with events that occur. It is, then, upon the relation of cause and effect that all propositions concerning matters of fact ultimately turn.

The analysis which Hume offers of the supposed connexion of cause and effect is well-known. The result reached by him amounts virtually to a complete reversal of our ordinary conceptions of the relation of one event with another. According to his view, there is no reason in the nature of things why any one event might not be followed by any other event; no reason, for example, why the rays of the sun should not freeze water instead of converting it into vapour, or why the north wind should not set the world on fire. We have no other guarantee that this will not happen than a subjective belief, engendered by custom; but for aught we can tell to the contrary, what we call 'natural laws' are merely statements of accidental conjunctions, of the fortuitous arrangements of natural circumstances, in which there is no necessity of order or connexion to be found.

This view has been so often effectively criticised that I can here confine myself to three considerations. In the first place, I think it evident that Hume is really assuming that very necessity of connexion for the appearance of which he is professing to account. For we are clearly entitled to ask how it comes about that our 'perceptions' do succeed one another in the regular, invariable way, which he asserts they do, in order to give rise to the *belief* or *feeling* of their necessary connexion. Hume recognises amply enough that, even if such necessity of connexion be a fiction, the task is imposed upon us of explaining how the fiction is produced. And it is produced, he contends, by the circumstance of our having repeatedly experienced that certain definite 'perceptions' invariably occur when certain other definite 'perceptions' have preceded them. But, if our

'perceptions' do, as a matter of fact, succeed one another in this regular invariable way, does not such invariability of succession really imply that very fact of necessary connexion which was called in question? In fine, in trying to explain how the *illusion* of necessary connexion is engendered, Hume is virtually admitting that necessary connexion is already there. The necessity, he declares, is a subjective feeling, a habit of expectation, and this subjective feeling or habit of expectation is formed by the invariability of the succession of our perceptions. Yet, this invariability which gives rise to the feeling or habit in question is, in truth, only conceivable as the expression of just that systematic order and connexion in the nature of things, of which Hume could discover no evidence. In the second place, it has to be noted that a merely constantly observed sequence is never of itself sufficient to establish the fact of causal connexion. If it were, the relation between day and night would have to be regarded as a relation of cause and effect, for night constantly follows day, and the expectation we have on the experience of day that night will follow is as strong as any expectation can be. Because two events have been frequently, or even invariably, conjoined in experience, to conclude, from that circumstance alone, that they are related causally is a characteristic fallacy, a fallacy which logicians have signalled as that of *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*. No doubt a constant conjunction of two events does afford a presumption that the relation between them is a causal relation, but it is never in itself sufficient to establish that there is a causal relation. Only a thorough analysis of the conditions can give us a right to assert causal relatedness. Furthermore, it is not true that it is only as a result of repeated observation we feel ourselves entitled to assert a case of causal connectedness. The procedure of the chemist or the physicist shows that his conviction of the uniformity of sequence is irrespective of the number of instances in which it has been observed. A single instance in which one event has been followed by another is sufficient to establish the

fact of such uniformity, if it has been ascertained precisely what it is that precedes and what it is that follows *in that instance*. The scientist proceeds on the principle that what is a fact once is a fact always. And a uniformity which can be established in this way is precisely what is implied in the term 'necessary'. The fact of such uniformity is not contingent upon its having been experienced by anybody or everybody. It does not come into being with the experiment that brings about our awareness of it. It is experienced because it is real ; it is not real because it is experienced. Indeed, in actual scientific investigation it is often the case that what is directly observed is disregarded, and a hidden connexion is, by the experiment, established, in which the causal relation is found and acknowledged, although it differs from the observed features of the sequence. For example, when hydrogen and oxygen are combined in the proportion of two to one, and water is found to result from the combination, that connexion is forthwith regarded as necessary, and, accordingly, as a causal connexion. Nevertheless, the antecedent in this case only manifests itself as an antecedent when the experiment has been performed which produces the effect. It is obvious, therefore, that frequency of sequence has here nothing to do with engendering the belief in question. In the third place, I would call in question the assumption which lies at the root of Hume's whole theory of causation. So far from its being true that, as he asserts, there is nothing in any objects considered in itself that can afford us a reason for drawing a conclusion beyond it, exactly the opposite thesis might be laid down and defended. A conscious mind, it might reasonably be agreed, is incapable of recognising any object or event in itself ; every object or event carries us inevitably beyond itself, and constrains us to recognise its connectedness with other objects or events. Without such recognition of connexion, apprehension of an object or of an event would be impossible. Causal connectedness can, then, never be resolved into mere conjunction or succession. No

doubt, considered as an event, the effect may be looked upon as, in a sense, 'distinct from' its cause. The point is, however, that it never is *merely* an event. To treat it merely as an event is to treat it as a mere particularity,—that is to say, as a mere characterless unit. No effect is merely an event of that sort ; it is always an event possessed of qualities, an event of such and such a character. And this means that it is the same universal feature which is present in both cause and effect, and which unites them together as elements in a single whole. So far from its being true that " we are never able to discover any quality which binds the effect to the cause," it may be said that it is *precisely* the *same* quality which is present in the two particular events, and which constitutes their intelligibility.

That Hume was aware of the inherent impossibility of the task at which he had been labouring is apparent from his Appendix to the *Treatise*. " There are two principles," he says, " which I cannot render consistent ; nor is it in my power to renounce either of them, namely, *that all our distinct perceptions are distinct existences*, and *that the mind never perceives any real connexion among distinct existences*. Did our perceptions either inhere in something simple and individual, or did the mind perceive some real connexion among them, there would be no difficulty in the case. For my part, I must plead the privilege of a sceptic, and confess that this difficulty is too hard for my understanding." With remarkable discernment and subtlety, Hume thus hits upon the essential weakness of the view of experience which he had himself propounded. He had done all that it is possible to do in the attempt to manufacture knowledge out of isolated mental states. He had tried to look upon what is known as consisting merely of disconnected particulars, connected only by external relations. And in the long run he has to admit that experience so conceived turns out to be but as a rope of sand, that no ingenuity would avail to introduce coherence into elements defined from the outset as incoherents, or to bring into relation elements that had all

along been regarded as relationless. I think the value of Hume's philosophy largely consists in the thoroughness with which he endeavoured to work out a thought which has always influenced philosophic speculation, a thought that had largely determined the theorising of Locke, but which had never previously been freed from extraneous considerations, and so had never been able to exhibit its real significance in regard to the conception of relations:

M. R. ANNAND

## THE INFLUENCE OF FASCISM ON ITALIAN YOUTH

Fascism has accomplished many good works since the day when Signor Mussolini took the reins into his firm hands to guide Italy back into the right path which she had lost owing to bad government, but none of them is more important in its effect on the moral welfare of the country than the "Opera Nazionale Balilla" (National Balilla Association) for the education of the rising generation. It should be explained that "Balilla" was the nickname of an Italian boy hero of the 18th century, Giovanni Battista Perasso, who, in 1746, gave the first impulse to the popular insurrection that led to the expulsion of the Austrians from Genoa. The word is always used in Italy as a symbol of youthful courage and patriotism.

The President of the Association is Signor Renato Ricci, a young and energetic man who fought as a Bersagliere officer during the war and is now Vice-Secretary of the Fascist Party and one of the deputies for Tuscany.

Signor Mussolini, with wise forethought, is anxious to "form" the boyhood of the nation who to-morrow will have the country's destinies in their hands and on whom the continuation of its present prosperity and prestige must necessarily depend. He considers that the best means of effecting this end is to integrate and co-ordinate in one vast organisation the triple influence of Church, school and family and to hand over to this organisation the moral and material training of a youthful army which must be thoroughly Italian in education, in feeling and in will-power. An army! This word has aroused suspicion and indignation among the many enemies of Fascism, giving them an excuse to accuse Italy and Mussolini of dark designs against the peace of Europe and the world! But "army" as it is here understood, means something more and something better than an organisation for purpose of war;

*it means an organisation of national energies, for defence if necessary, but also and above all, for keeping the country at a high level of progress, sure of itself and strong enough to go on marching forward in the van of civilisation, for its own benefit and that of humanity. So Fascism is educating boys, breaking them into physical exercises, inuring them to fatigue, training them to be soldiers, yes, but also to be good citizens, worthy of the heritage transmitted to them by their fathers and elder brothers who at a heavy cost, snatched victory from the jaws of ruin and defeat.*

The slogan "*Libro moschetto, Fascista perfetto*," sums up Signor Mussolini's views. From the "book" young Italians will learn useful knowledge to fit them for any position in life ; with the "musket" they will be able to defend Italy's hard-own frontiers.

The National Balilla Association is admirably organised. It is composed of "Balilla" or small boys from 8 to 14, and "Avanguardisti" or the Vanguard whose ages range from 14 to 18. At the close of 1928 the "Balilla" numbered 812, 242, and the Avanguradisti 423,959 ; altogether a total of 1,236,201 boys. These figures remain almost changed even after the recent Fascist levy, for if 89,574 of the Vanguard were then passed into the Fascist Militia, their place was at once filled up by 1,04,033 Balilla and the Balilla in their turn had their ranks completed by new recruits.

This imposing force of over one million boys is divided into 509 legions, commanded by 4,343 officers ; 646 chaplains and 470 doctors are also attached to the Association.

Physical development has, naturally, a large place in the work of education, though always carried on within reasonable limits. So far, instructors have been chosen from among the gymnastic masters already attached to the State schools but in the future they will be drawn exclusively from young men trained in the Fascist Academy of Physical Education which has just been opened at Rome, with the following curriculum ;

anatomy, physiology, kinematics, anthropometry, physical therapeutics, the pathology of sports, philosophy, pedagogics, foreign languages, specialised sports, military technique, etc., everything, in fact, that is needed to turn out first-class physical instructors in the widest sense of the word. The Academy is presided over by a Rector who is a professor of the Rome University and by a Consul of the Fascist Militia, while the teaching staff has been carefully selected from thoroughly competent elements.

Athletics, sports and games of all kinds are encouraged by the Balilla Association which is active in organising competitions, trials of strength and test matches all over the country, as well as walks, excursions and summer camps. Ski-ing, boat-racing, fencing, swimming and shooting at a mark are not forgotten. It is difficult to over-estimate the enormous benefit to Italian boys of all these open-air pursuits undertaken collectively.

Such things were but little thought of before Fascist days and school-boys and students alike suffered in health and morale from leading too sedentary lives. In 1928 over 50,000 Avanguardisti took part in different competitions.

The Association also organises local courses of culture and professional education (for motorists, telegraphists, agriculturists, etc.,) and holds First Aid classes. It promotes concerts and courses of musical instruction and was responsible, during 1928, for 15,527 cultural and patriotic lectures. It possesses 347 libraries with 37,000 volumes and this branch of its activities is being largely increased.

The "Opera Balilla" is also provided with ambulances and since the beginning of the present year compulsory insurance against accidents of every kind, insisted on for all the members. A sum of 30,000 lire (about pounds 320) is paid in cases of disablement and 10,000 lire (pounds 110) are paid to the family of any boy accidentally killed. This insurance has been extended to the pupils of State schools whether they are members of the Balilla Association or not.



Space forbids any further details about the work carried on by the "Opera Balilla," but enough has been said to give a good general idea of the immense importance of the movement. *The Fascist Government is determined that Italian boys shall be adequately trained, so far as is possible to meet the difficulties of life in a brave, self-reliant spirit, while at the sametime making the best use of all that Fascism has accomplished for the benefit of the Italian nation.*

SIGNOE RODOLFO GAZZANIGA

## **HISTORY OF TAXATION OF SALT UNDER THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY**

Hastings resigned early in 1785 and Lord Cornwallis came as Governor-General in 1786. In the meantime salt revenue had begun to decline again. In 1785-86 and in 1786-87 the receipts from salt had fallen from the high figure of 1784-85. This led Lord Cornwallis to take up the question. The salt revenue policy underwent in his hands a small but important alteration. Before the maturer verdict of experiences, the innovation of Cornwallis proved itself to be fundamentally wrong in principle and peurile in effect and during the half a century it was in force it had produced incalculable mischiefs and brought untold miseries.

Lord Cornwallis had observed that the merchants very frequently used to combine among themselves and corner the whole supply in certain parts of the territory. They were next free to dictate their own prices and make large profits on a small sale. Its consequence was that people had to pay very high prices for salt only to swell the incomes of the profiteers; the state did not obtain any benefit therefrom. Cornwallis took the cue from this. He substituted quarterly auction sales of limited quantities, divided in large lots, for the hitherto existing system of regular sales to unlimited extent at fixed prices. The idea in the back of his mind was that the altered system would rouse the whole-sale dealers to active competition with each other and thus, at one stroke, it would put an end to combination of dealers and at the same time force up the price to a sufficiently high level, if not to the highest. To Cornwallis, therefore, not only did it promise the roseate prospect of a considerably increased revenue but it at the same time ensured against its interception by the

merchants, who would no longer be in a position to charge a price much above what would cover their normal profits for risks and troubles of management.

Thus it was that the machinations of the profiteers were transferred from the market place to the Council Chamber of the Government and were finally legalised as a regular Governmental policy. The monopoly ceased henceforth to be a mere instrument of taxation and did really become an instrument of commerce. Hastings, it must be observed, had only once made the mistake of introducing a system that made the tax uncertain but Cornwallis was guilty of a graver offence, for he made it, in addition, the subject of an anti-social commercial principle that had no regard for the silent millions, committed to his fostering care and protection. To use a common metaphor, Hastings had thought fit only to acquire the giant strength of the monopolist but it remained for Cornwallis to use it as a giant.

The authorities in Bengal have however always claimed that it had never been their object to starve the market in order to take the fullest advantage of the system. It had rather ever been their careful concern to keep in view more the comfort of the people than the mere productiveness of the tax. All that they did was to fix the supply with reference to the estimated demand so as to raise not the highest that the trade would bear but a more or less fixed rate of impost, approximately equal to Rs. 3-4 as. And the rate itself, they contended, was fair enough to enable the country to provide itself with an ample supply of the commodity so that any reduction of the tax would only have meant a loss of revenue without any increase of consumption. They therefore claimed to have succeeded in realizing the enhanced rate absolutely without any attempt on their part to stint the quantities given out for consumption but on the contrary by supply extended *pari passu* with the growth of population. It was probably true that the system was not as a general rule managed with an

eye to the maximum net revenue. But then the crude and fallacious idea of the authorities about the very restricted use of the article in the country<sup>1</sup> and their exaggerated sense of the inelasticity of the commodity were sufficient to nullify any effect that their good intentions might have otherwise produced.

From the following figures the reader would be able to judge how uncertain and arbitrary had the tax become in those years.<sup>2</sup>

Year.					Average price of sale per 100 mds. at Govt. auctions.		
					Rs.	A.	P.
1790	.	..	...	..	304	6	0
1794	.	...	..	...	377	8	0
1795	...	.	.	..	350	1	0
1822	...	...		..	523	12	0
1823	.		...	...	465	5	0
1825	.	..	.	.	465	5	0
1834	.	...	...	.	465	0	0

The system of monopoly pursued in France in respect to salt (1312-1791) is strikingly illustrative of the Indian salt monopoly. But even the much vituperated French gabelle had the redeeming virtue of the invariableness of the price and certainty of the supply. Russia was another country that had a salt monopoly but the Russian Government used to vend the whole of its manufactured salt in all parts of its territory at an

<sup>1</sup> The report of the Board of Salt, January, 1832 (App. to Select Committee on Salt, 1836) is a clear evidence of the above statement.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the most striking example of this will be found in the following incident that will speak for itself. In 1822-23 the East India Company paid off one of its loans. Owing to the consequent abundance of money in the Calcutta money market, wild speculations on salt set in. Thanks to the speculators, the price was at once raised from about Rs. 350 to Rs. 600 nearly. They very soon learnt to their cost that they had gone too far. Their loss was heavy and a large part of salt at Government depots remained unclaimed.

unvarying price. James Grant in his study of finances<sup>1</sup> of Bengal had extolled the superiority of the Bengal system over those of the European countries on account of freedom of retail trade that the system afforded. It was not true, as we shall see, that the trade was at any time sufficiently free, certainly it was less so after the innovation of Cornwallis. But, assuming it was, the benefit that might have been conferred upon the trades was but as dust in the balance compared with all the injury that was to be inflicted upon the consumers:

For many years however the full significance of the change was but dimly realized. Certain it is, that if Cornwallis had foreseen half the evils his scheme was capable of, he would have been the last person to adopt it. Four years after the scheme had been introduced, we find the Court of Directors laying down in their despatch of 19th September, 1792, the general principle "The tax which the subject is to pay to the State should not be arbitrary but ascertained and fixed." But it was a travesty of circumstances that they had at the same time signified their general approval of Lord Cornwallis's scheme, evidence that they had failed to study the scheme in its true light. Even after the lapse of many years it was not considered to be of sufficient importance to receive more than a passing reference from the Select Committee of 1812.

The new policy was on the whole financially remunerative, though not to the extent it should have been. The average revenue during the six years from 1786-87 when its operation commenced to 1791-92 (both years inclusive) was £ 935,319 so that the benefit derived by the measure amounted to more than

<sup>1</sup> Cf. "Yet as in its actual form, it (the Bengal system) leaves the most perfect freedom of interior traffic to all European and native inhabitants excepting only British subjects, after the first immediate sale on the spot where produced; it differs widely from those pernicious institutions under the same denomination, in other parts of the world, fraught with complete disadvantage to trade."—An historical and comparative analysis of the finances of Bengal from the Mogul conquest to the present time :—Extracted from a Political survey of the British Dominions and Tributary dependencies in India by Mr. James Grant. Fifth Report of the Select Committee, 1812, App. No. 4, Firminger's edition, Vol. II.

£300,000 annually in comparison with the largest revenue obtained in previous years.<sup>1</sup> The highest during the period was in 1789-90 when a revenue of £ 119,445, almost the double of the highest of the preceding period, was derived. In 1793 we find Cornwallis reviewing with satisfaction that the alteration had "already proved a gain to the Company" and expressed further the hope that "this mode of disposing of the Company's salt" would "continue uniformly in future years to produce the same advantages."<sup>2</sup> In 1812 also the Select Committee in their Fifth Report expressed satisfaction at the financial results.<sup>3</sup>

But properly viewed the scheme had really stultified itself. It had not succeeded in breaking down combinations among merchants; on the contrary it had made the situation worse. Nor could it, in consequence of that, secure for the treasury the best part of the price realised from the public. The persons that thronged at the Company's auction sales were not all genuine traders. The largeness of the lots and sales of limited quantities in one central spot had invited a number of speculators,<sup>4</sup> rich merchants and brokers of Calcutta, and had furnished them with the ready means of entering into close combination, of dominating the market<sup>5</sup> and of defrauding

<sup>1</sup> Second Report from the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company, 1810.

<sup>2</sup> Minute of the Governor-General, dated the 11th February, 1798. See Second Report of the Select Committee on East India Affairs, App. No. 9 (A).

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix D. No. 1.

<sup>4</sup> See letter from the Board of Customs, Salt and Opium to Governor-General in Council, dated 19th November, 1834 (Sec. 18 of App. No. 20 to the Report of the Select Committee on Salt, 1836), from which we make the following extract. "The misfortune indeed is this and it has been the crying evil of the salt department for a long time (perhaps nearly from the first) that the majority of these are not strictly speaking salt merchants but speculators on the rise and fall in the Calcutta market."

<sup>5</sup> Whether or not there existed such a dominant combination of a knot of capitalists was for long an apple of discord. The large balances of salt that remained every year uncleared at the Government *godahs* were pointed out by the critics of the Governmental policy to be the most unequivocal symptom of the existence of a sub-monopoly, which found it to its advantage to get a great profit upon a small quantity and consequently

both the State and the consumers. Thanks to the policy of the Government, wide was the margin that the tax "contrived" "to take out of the pockets of the people" "over and above what it brought into the public treasury of the state." If, therefore, the revenue increased a little, the burden of taxation far outdid it and was out of all proportion to the increase.<sup>1</sup>

pursued the above policy to induce the Government to lessen the supply of the subsequent year. It was, however, maintained by others, especially the authorities concerned, that such a regularly organised scheme could possibly be carried on at a cost "wholly irreconcilable with their ideas of native character and totally disproportioned to the object in view." They found no reason why the merchants would adopt the alleged tactics of non-clearance, when it was well-known that the quantity on hand constituted only one of the elements of calculation in determining the amount, the Government put up for the next sale. They were therefore prone to look upon the above circumstance as an evidence of amply supplied and even overstocked market. As time wore on, the authorities had more and more abundant proofs of the existence of a sub-monopoly in the frequent manifestations of a common interest on the part of Calcutta purchasers. Some times it happened that notwithstanding a very considerable diminution of the total quantity allotted for sale, the price in the auction sale did not show any tendency to rise nor did the clearance of purchased lots proceed with any more alacrity. (*Vide* Resolution of Government of India, 22 January, 1835.) Incidents also occurred when nobody even came up to offer the upset price. Gradually the fact of its existence came to be almost generally accepted and even the Board of Customs, Salt and Opium, which long refused to believe in its existence had ultimately to confess it in a letter to the Governor-General, dated the 19th November, 1834. The relevant passages in the letter run thus. "We have often stated to Government our impression that no sub-monopoly of salt, strictly to be so called, can be said to exist; but we think (for perplexed as the question is by so many real difficulties, and so many interests striving to conceal the real facts of the case we are unable to form conclusive opinion) that there are two classes of persons, one of which bears a resemblance to a sub-monopoly, as much as any knot of capitalists in any market acting on a common interest, would naturally assume such a character "....." The other class of purchasers of salt at the public sales are known by the general name of *Dhuratia*. They are very few. They are the relics of a larger and very wealthy body, once engaged in the same description of dealings. They may have been said to have possessed themselves of a sort of sub-monopoly for a particular tract of country. Many of this body are *shroffs* in the *Burrabazar* ..... etc." Flowden, who was appointed in 1856 to investigate into the whole question of supply, manufacture and taxation of salt was disposed to regard the sub-monopoly as the "direct and unavoidable consequence of a false system of restrictions."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. "The paltry increase in the salt monopoly has been produced by increased taxation by mere brute increase of the cost of a necessary of life, etc." Crawford, J.—An inquiry into some of the principal monopolies of the East Indian Company.

## ORISSA.

In 1803 was acquired from the Bhonsla Raja of Berar and Nagpur another extensive salt producing area, the province of Cuttack, with the port and district of Balasore. Steps towards the extension of the monopoly to the newly acquired territory were taken immediately after its annexation.

The manufacture of salt, which seems to have been a very limited industry, was then in the hands of the Rajas and Zemindars whose estates bordered on the coast. In the first instance they were disallowed from manufacturing salt in any part of the province without any license from the Government. The sale of the article continued for some time to be free, subject to the payment of a duty of 12 as. per maund. But at the same time the Government declared its readiness to purchase at all times salt to any amount at the fixed price of 4 as. per maund.

Gradually, the Government brought up from the Zemindars the right to manufacture salt till in 1813 it had succeeded in establishing its complete monopoly over the whole province. "The measures pursued, however, operated rather to restrict the supply than to subject it to taxation; occasioning distress to the people without any important addition to the Government resources."<sup>1</sup>

In one important respect the monopoly of Orissa differed from the system of Bengal. In the latter province it was observed that salt was not vended on account of Government otherwise than by whole-sale. The actual retail distribution of the commodity among consumers was left to private enterprise. No doubt in the narrow strips of saliferous tracts, where inhabitants would have been easily tempted into illicit consumption under the pressure of a high duty, there was

<sup>1</sup> Letter from the Rt. Hon'ble Holt Mackenzie to Thomas Hyde Villiers, Esq., in reply to a letter in the Revenue Department, dated the 17th January, 1832, circulated by the Commissioners for the affairs of India.



provision for retailed sale in small quantities at reduced prices, the object being to obtain some revenue where persistence in the full rate of duty would, owing to the great facility of smuggling, have brought little.<sup>1</sup> But confined as the retail sale was to narrow limits and to quantities comparatively insignificant, we leave it aside as of no significance for Bengal.

In Orissa, on the other hand, the Government undertook from the beginning to carry salt at suitable points in the interior and to supply the article from there on retail. It was not that the Government had the express purpose of taking the entire retail trade into its hands; on the contrary salt was as readily sold from the depots in large quantities for the convenience of big dealers.<sup>2</sup> It was but the peculiar situation of the province, affording the greatest facility to smuggling from all sides, that had precluded the possibility of exempting any part of it from retail sales at reduced prices.

Judging from what it was in Bengal as to what it would have been in Orissa, one is apt to look upon this departure as a fortunate circumstance for the province. For, whether or not, the cost of transport, as contended by some, was more than what might have been under private enterprise, this at least is sure that it proved an effective bulwark against all the concomitant evils connoted by the rise of any pools, rings or combinations of any form of the middlemen.

In 1817 distress and discontent caused by the Salt Law had reached such a point that there broke out a disorder among the populace. It was a great eye-opener to the Government. Arrangements were soon after made for the supply of the province by extended local sales at fixed prices, much below

<sup>1</sup> Cf. "In those districts a man would have only to take a pipkin and a little brine and make salt for himself." Evidence of F. W. Prideaux before the Select Committee of 1858. See his reply to Q. 7266.

<sup>2</sup> "In this view the sales in the Cuttack province excepting those in the saliferous localities and their immediate neighbourhood, would perhaps be more correctly designated as "local" than "retail" sales." Notes on the system of retail sale of salt by the Government, App. to Plowden's Report on supply, manufacture and taxation of salt in British India, 1858.

the average of the auction sales, held at Calcutta. A long chain of *golaks* was thus established, stretching from one end of the province to another. It brought much needed relief and was followed by an appreciable increase of sales and of revenue.

*(To be continued.)*

PARIMAL RAY

## INSTALMENT CREDIT SYSTEM IN AMERICA

*(Through Indian Eyes)*

Purchase by deferred payments or buying on the instalment plan, by the reason of its enormous growth in many countries, and especially in the United States, since the war, is a development which has been watched with interest by economists and financiers. The whole scheme is nothing but a new form of extended credit within the reach of all the people. A study of its methods will well repay the time spent of our employers and workers alike. It is true what is suited to the needs and temperament of the people of one country may be anything but successful when slavishly imitated. But when all allowances are made the fact remains that other countries could gain much by an intelligent application of what is best in the system. We are told by eminent financiers and economists that the Instalment system is doing much good to the whole population of the United States of America. The people are enjoying the fruits of the present wave of prosperity. The poverty is practically non-existent. The people are well-paid, well-clothed and well-fed. Others who were not very enthusiastic about this scheme say that it is something like inflation of currency during the war.

But the facts that are before us, are not very discouraging. About 15 % of all retail purchasers are bought on instalment credit system and the total amount of instalment debt outstanding at a given time is estimated at \$ 2,750 millions. This appears to be very large amount but is really small in comparison with the total amount of credit of all kinds outstanding at a given time.

The system though it was in use since these 50 years in America did not work out well until it was introduced in Motor Industry some ten years back. The motor manufacturers did not welcome this scheme at the beginning as they opposed to

sell cars on credit. Later on they encouraged it through a desire to increase sales and reduce the cost of production. The result of the introduction was very amazing. On the average one in three persons in America own his car and it is not uncommon to find a working class family possessing more than one car. The bread winner rides his car to his works spot, the housewife to her shopping and the schoolboy to the school.

Within the ambit of the instalment system come out notably such luxuries as wireless sets and musical instrument but even the necessary supplies.

The following are the relevant statistics showing the percentage of Instalment Credit system used by the American population :—

Automobiles	75%	of all the production.
Household furniture	19%	,,
Gramophones	80%	,,
Washing materials	75%	,,
Vacuum cleaners	65%	,,
Jewellery	25%	,,

About \$ 140 millions worth of clothing is sold annually on deferred payments. The time for the repayment of this class of credit is short and the amount outstanding is only 1.4% of the total instalment debt.

In a town of 50,000 inhabitants let us suppose that 600 families begun to use the extended form of instalment credit system, about 50% of the poor class families will avail of this credit system, 35% of the middle class people and 15% of the well-to-do families. The movement has been fostered by leading houses of the country and a host of financial concerns has sprung up to provide the necessary facilities. There are nearly 2,000 of such companies operating in all parts of the country. Some of the companies specialize in financing automobiles, others specialize in furnishing furniture and other household goods. Some specialize in agricultural machinery,

others in industrial plants. Some concerns are formed for the purpose of marketing the manufactured goods in clothing, others are subsidiary to commercial banks. Some finance companies discount notes with other banks, others place in trust with some of the Trust Companies and issue short term debentures against the Trusted notes, which are sold to Banks. Sometimes long term collateral trust bonds are also sold.

By a system of insurance the prospect of losses is minimized, and the percentage of failures to the completed instalments over a period of two years was less than  $1\frac{1}{2}\%$  of the total outstanding debt.

Regarding the prices the instalment consumers' pay is a bit higher, notwithstanding these higher prices it can be said they pay less to-day than they would pay when there is no instalment system. Because of this system the production has been increased, the manufacturing cost per unit has been decreased and the economies gained through these have been passed on to the consumers.

For a progressing cheapening of the products by ever-increasing production there should be a constant demand for the goods. Otherwise there would be a set back if the market were to reach the saturation point. This should be avoided by an accurate observation of the market conditions. Another thing is about finance. If the instalment credit is not controlled it will be very dangerous and will help to tend panics and depressions. The Instalment system is an important contribution to the modern economic organization. It will in due course of time change the hearts of those conservative sections, who are looking with disfavour on the movement.

To ameliorate the economic and social condition of our poor and middle class workers and employees of this country, it will not be an enormous task if our financiers and industrialists keeping a watch over the pitfalls sincerely introduce this system.

O. S. KRISHNAMOORTHY

## THE AVESTAN GATHAS<sup>1</sup>

The Avesta text is often repelling. Whoever has had sufficient experience would excuse M. Geldner for not having finished his monumental work, at least for having written, in the beginning of the preface, that "the Avesta is not one of those fertile fields to the study of which one should consecrate the best years of one's life."

But, beside the interest which it holds for the linguist, beside the fact that it is the only literary text preserved in ancient Iran, it has the merit of containing a series of verse compositions, like the Vedic strophes, which have a peculiar significance. These are the gathas.

James Darmesteter has, no doubt, put forward the theory that the gathas were the later text; that the language differed from the rest of the Avesta only in orthography; that the abstractions found there were probably in imitation of platonic doctrines. Saying this, Darmesteter did not push to the extreme conclusion the process which made it possible for him to revive the study of the later Avesta: reasonably convinced that the later Avesta in its present form is a compilation of the Sassanide epoch, he has interpreted it by means of tradition which goes back to the times when the Avestan doctrine was the state religion. But what is practically true of the Sassanide Avesta is not true of the gathas which are inserted there. Between the language of the later Avesta and that of the gathas, there are many and fundamental differences: in proportion as the writing or script allows us to note, the phonetic form presents remarkable divergences; the morphology is often not clear; the vocabulary is largely different. Regarded essentially, the abstractions in the gathas have not the character of platonic

<sup>1</sup> Translated from Meillet's *Trois Conférences sur les gâthâ de Avesta*—Introduction.

abstractions. The hypothesis of Darmesteter has not been accepted, and all the world agrees to see in the gathas a text at once ancient and original. Nevertheless, the translation of the sense of this text was lost in the Sassanide era : the pahlavi translation of the later Avesta is generally correct and furnishes the key to interpretation, so much so the pahlavi translation of the gathas shows that the translators are ignorant of the grammar of the text and of the meaning of many of the words. The translation by J. Darmesteter, done according to tradition, rests then on a very weak basis, and it is impossible to utilise it. J. Darmesteter has applied here a principle which he taught : the scholar should have a clear-cut doctrine, and should rather make a mistake of fact than have a feeble doctrine which allows itself neither to be proved nor disproved completely. So far as the later Avesta is concerned, J. Darmesteter has been correct in his findings; but as regards the gathas, he has been mistaken. The public, accustomed to place confidence in the sound translation of the Avesta, should guard itself against the portion devoted to the gathas.

Indeed, it is not possible to translate the gathas in a sure and complete manner. Beside the fundamental difficulty to be explained here in Chapter II, one is struck by the singularity of a text which is found isolated in the Iranian literature, by the desire which the authors have of expressing themselves in a way widely different from the usual, and finally, by the great number of words of unknown meaning which one comes across there. Thus the words are thrown off in an order which seems often arbitrary and which systematically disagrees with the usual order : the name of the god of the gathas, Ahura Mazda, which is, as one knows, a juxtaposition and which in Persian is presented as one word, one of which the second term only is inflected, appears most frequently with the two terms separated, or at least the order of the two terms reserved, and one finds it a nominative Mazda Ahurō, rather than Ahurō Mazda. This common fact suffices to give an idea of the difference which the

authors have held to guard between the current usage and their manner of writing.

The translation which M. Bartholomae published in 1905 under the title *Die Gáthás des Avesta, Zarathushtra's Verspre-digten* is the only complete translation on which one may generally rely. It rests on a linguistic doctrine firmly built, coherent from end to end, and follows the text most closely. It starts from the admirable dictionary of the same author and it has merits. But it is to be regretted that M. Bartholomae should have believed it his duty to translate almost wholly a text in which a great many passages are almost unintelligible, that he has thought it necessary to explain almost all the words even where the data do not allow us to find the exact significance, that he does not explain in any manner in his study of the degree—variable from case to case—of probability of his interpretation. On the whole, M. Bartholomae gives a just idea of the gathas; but he who would study in detail the text can do so only on one condition,—that he would examine to what extent the translation of the passage under discussion rests on data positive and certain.

What shows that the translation of M. Bartholomae is generally correct is that the translation, independent and profoundly critical, which MM. Andreas and Wackernagel have offered of one portion of the gathas, errs in detail. One knows that MM. Andreas and Wackernagel have, on the form of the text, some opinions wholly different from M. Bartholomae's; on the spirit of the text, they are most frequently of the same opinion with him. But one would have praised them if they had left more of the passages untranslated and if they had made more use of interrogation marks. These translations are published in the *Nachrichten* of the academy of Gottingen in 1909 (pp. 41-49), 1911 (pp. 1-34) and 1913 (pp. 363-85); they have bearing on the chapters 29 to 32 of Yasna.

If many passages still remain obscure, one might say that the general sense of the gathas is known and that there is now harmony among the scholars who study them.



Although the text has been often studied in recent times, there remains much to do to exactly determine its place in history, in literary character and religious significance.

We would attempt to present the conclusions in a most distinct manner so that the Iranists may confront them with facts, and to confirm or refute them.

After the *Zoroastrian Theology* of Dhalla (New York, 1914) it is easy to see how the doctrine of the gathas is distinguished from that of the later Avesta. The religion of the later Avesta appears as a compromise between the religious reform of which the gathas are the only authentic monument and the ancient Iranian tradition parallel to the Indian tradition represented by the Vedas. The doctrine is placed in the light of religious development by James Hope Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, London, 1913 and by R. Pettazzoni, *La religione di Zarathustra*, Bologna (without date, preface dated November, 1920). M. Bartholomae has briefly summed up his views in a recent small brochure : *Zarathustra's Leben und Lehre*, Heidelberg, 1924.

The three authors agree in giving the most prominent place to the personality of the reformer whom the Avesta names as Zarathustra. Even the text of the gathas is willingly attributed to him. Nevertheless, there is nothing to prove that all the fragments come from the same hand. The fact that Zarathustra is frequently mentioned there in the third person does not lend countenance to the view or supposition that all the pieces in the gathas are the works of the reformer himself.

Really speaking, all that is certain is that the compilers of Yasna have inserted in their text a number of archaic fragments which are preserved and which, so far as they were concerned, were almost unintelligible, but considered as a sacred heritage. The gathas are ruins preserved from Zoroastrian reform, but one fails to see how it may be established that all these are works by the same hand. One fragment expresses personal sentiments, has individual accent, has life. Another,

like Yasna L. is devoid of character and creates an impression of being the work of a school. The pieces preserved are too few in number and too little in length to allow of any useful departure. The fact that the gathas are considered here as a whole is due to the impossibility of doing any critical work, not to the conviction that these texts form an entire work. The small collection of the gathas represents the remnants of one whole literature. If one treats them here as a unit, that is necessary for critical purposes: these texts are too slight, and above all too disjointed, for the critic to have any chance of coming to sure and accurate results, or even results probable and a little more definite. The collection is luckily sufficiently coherent, so that there is nothing very inconvenient to treat it as a whole. But one should remember that if the gathas are seen as a whole, it is so by a rough approximation which without doubt is wide of reality. It is with that reservation that one should read these lectures reproduced here.

Be that as it may, the gathas form, in the traditional Avestan text, a strange literature, and one can feel it.

The manner of writing marks the difference from the very beginning. The language is essentially different. And the doctrine differs still more, as one may find at once on reference to the work of M. Dhalla on the Avestan Theology, already mentioned.

In the gathas one breathes everywhere in the presence of systematic religious reformation, the moral ideas appear in the first view; the opposition of good and evil spirits comes out without cease; the reward after death is the main question; the beneficent powers expressed in abstract terms which constitute some sort of court to Ahura Mazda are mentioned almost in each strophe, either by name or at least by means of allusions; the sacrificial rites, on the other side, do not play any part.

On the contrary, the doctrine of the later Avesta has a *syncretic* character; this is the result of a compromise between

pure Zoroastrianism of which the gathas give a glimpse, and an ancient ritualistic religion, of a type corresponding to the Vedic. Gods like *Miθra* are adored. Sacrifice is largely practised; so much so that the collection in which the gathas have been incorporated is the part which is recited at the time of sacrifice, for want of careful preservation of the old texts proper to be recited in the solemn sacrifice; the priests who, at the close of the Arsacide period and at the beginning of the Sassanide period had organised the Avestan religion, had utilised the only religious poems preserved, though these poems had not been composed in view of the ritual and though they came out moreover from a reaction against ritual; nothing shows better the compromise effected between Zoroastrian religion and the religion of the Aryan (Indo-Iranian) aristocracy, and also the ruin of ancient traditions since the Macedonian conquest and the beginnings of the Parthian kingdom, Iranian from the political point of view, Hellenic from the point of view of civilisation. The *Aməša spənta*, who consist solely of beneficent powers, without any material personality, materialise more and more and come towards concrete personages. All sorts of usages and superstitions are incorporated in the religion and more or less justified by the opposition of good worlds and bad. The Evil Spirit which was only an expression realised from evil-doing, comes out a sort of divine being opposed to Ahura Mazda; thus is constituted a sort of dualism, in the place of the moral opposition between good and evil which characterises the doctrine of the gathas.

This syncretism is well illustrated in a famous chapter of the later Avesta, Yasna IX: Zoroaster figures there, but is accompanied by *Haoma*, who is the principal object of Indo-Iranian sacrifice, the Vedic *Soma*. And it is from this sacrifice that the legendary figures of the Indo-Iranian tradition come out: the same names are to be found simultaneously both here and in the Vedas. Zoroaster becomes an epigone of persons of Indo-Iranian tradition.

The ruins of that tradition were then kept up side by side with ruins, wholly different, of the Zoroastrian reform. The language bears evidence ; as a whole the language of the Avesta is in a more advanced stage of development than that of the gathas ; but it contains archaisms which, already in the language of the gathas, had disappeared or were about to disappear. (See *Journal Asiatique*, 1914, II, p. 183, ff.)

It is important moreover to note that in spite of the close proximity of linguistic types, the language of the later Avesta is not the continuation of the language of the gathas. The fact has been indicated; but it has not been studied in the way it ought to be. A vocabulary bears a striking proof of the difference between the two. The later Avesta names the three castes, as the priests, the warriors, and the agriculturists by three Indo-Iranian terms ; the name *aθaurvā* for the priest, approaches closely the Vedic *āthārvā*—the name *raθaēstā*<sup>v</sup> (in the nominative) for the warrior is identical with the *ratheṣṭhaḥ* of the Vedas; as regards the name *vāstryō fšuyas* for the agriculturist, it is not found in India; but the form from which is derived *fšū-ya*—the name for the “beast,” Sanskrit *paśu*, Av-*pasu*, declares itself as old by its vocalism (vocalism to the zero degree of the radical element in a derived verb). Now, the gathas have three different terms for the same ideas; *airyamā* (aryama means “a companion” in Vedic); *xvaētus*<sup>v</sup> (that is to say, “members of a group”; close to Gr. εἰς. εἰαρος, εἰαρος; *vəγəznəyō*, *vəγəzənyō* (with some traces of speech found later; *vāstryō fšuyas*). The later Avesta is more faithful than the gathas to the traditional Indo-Iranian vocabulary.

When the great nationalist Iranian revival was effected which ended in the foundation of the Sassanide empire, the little remnant of miscellaneous traditions was utilised, though ill. The Mazdyan religion which then had to take its definite form became the State religion, while Zoroastrianism had been a sect. That the Avestan religion is narrow and strict is largely

due to this ; hence the contrast, so striking, between the entirely moral religion of the gathas and the intellectual poverty of the Sasanide Avesta. One sees thus that the Avesta gives a very slight idea of the liberty of spirit, of the religious ardour, of the lively intelligence, of the taste for changes in manners which has always characterised the Iranians. The gathas reflect that brilliant mentality and all its ardour ; the later Avesta does not contain even the ashes of that brilliance.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

## THE BENGAL LAND-HOLDER—SUB-DIVISION, FRAGMENTATION AND SUB-INFEUDATION.

### I

The importance of Sub-Division and fragmentation of holdings as affecting agriculture in India has attracted attention for some time. Some years ago the Board of Agriculture passed a resolution in these terms, "That this meeting of the Board of Agriculture recognises that in many parts of India, the extreme and increasing Sub-Division of the land and scattered character of the holdings together form a very serious impediment to agricultural progress and to the adoption of agricultural improvements, and wishes to suggest that the attention of local Governments be called to the matter. It recommends that the question be closely investigated and experiments made in each provincial area in consultation with the Registrar of Co-operative Societies with a view to the adoption of such measures as seem best adapted to meet the special local circumstances and to the introduction of such legislation as may be necessary."

The Government of Bengal sent two officers, Mr. McLean, Deputy Director of Agriculture, and Rai Sahib N. C. Bose, Assistant Registrar of Co-operative Societies, to the Punjab to study the methods adopted so successfully in that Province. They came to the conclusion that consolidation of holdings could not be of much help to the cultivators of Eastern Bengal, though it would be beneficial in Northern and Western Bengal. Government also sanctioned a special Inspector of Co-operative Department to start societies for the purpose, and it was proposed to initiate experiment in Government Khas Mahals. No progress, however, seems to have been made in that direction and there seems to be an all-pervading feeling that the difficulties to be faced in one way or another are insurmountable.

In the meantime the evil has grown to an alarming extent, both among the actual cultivators and those who eke out an income from land by virtue of a superior interest in it. There has been tremendous increase of population. The simple rural industries have gone down under severe foreign competition throwing back the redundant population on the soil. Whereas the proportion of the population supported by agriculture was 53·83 per cent. in 1881, it was 77·3 per cent. in 1921. According to the census taken in 1921, in Bengal, there is only 2·21 acres of land for every actual worker in cultivation. The law of inheritance made Sub-Division inevitable. The law of primogeniture does not exist in Bengal. Both according to the Hindu and the Muhammadan laws, on the death of a man, his landed and other property is divided among a number of successors in various proportions. Things are made worse by the way the division is customarily made. Every successor gets a portion in each holding and very often a portion in every separate plot in the holding. This naturally leads to fragmentation of the holdings. Sub-Division has also been increased by transfers, by sales, gifts, mortgages, etc. Very often, it is a part of the holding which is transferred and not the whole of it. The process has also been accentuated by the prestige, which attaches to the ownership of land. This perhaps accounts for quite a good number of cases where the cultivator sticks to minute plots of land which have ceased to be economic in any sense. The process has gone to such an extent that it has become a serious menace to progressive agriculture. In Dacca, the size of an average holding is only 1·52 acres every cultivating worker, on an average, being in possession of 1·89 tenancies or 2·88 acres of land. The average size of a field is only ·55 of an acre. In Bakharganj the average holding measures 2·51 acres and a cultivator is in possession of 1·13 tenancies or 2·80 acres. The average size of a holding in Jessore is about 2 acres and the average size of a plot ·36 acre, and these are ordinarily situated at different places. In Faridpur the size

of a holding is 1.39 acres and the figures for Chittagong are 1.26 acres for occupancy raiyats and .57 for settled raiyats. These figures represent averages; since there are many plot and holdings above the average size, there are many more which are below the average. These figures, however, fairly indicate the state of affairs in Bengal as a whole.

But the curse of rural Bengal is not confined to the Sub-division and fragmentation of holdings. An equally great evil is the system of Sub-infeudation, the existence of intermediary interests of various grades, which divide the cultivator from the proprietor paying revenue to the Government. The system perhaps owes its growth to the necessities of the situation of the landed interests in the early British rule; and unchecked by any attempt to systematise or limit its growth, and even aided by law, it has developed into its present state by following the path of least resistance.

In the stormy days following the Permanent Settlement, many Zamindars created hereditary, permanent interests in their property to ensure a secure though moderate income; they also sublet at comparatively low rates in order to secure ready money to meet the excessive land-revenue assessment; for the capitalised value of the loss of prospective rent was realised in these cases as a lump sum in the form of Selami. With the growing prosperity of the estates, this cause of Sub-infeudation weakened, but tenures began to be created in order to avoid the difficulties of control and management. This process continued further where there were possibilities

<sup>1</sup> The figures are taken from the settlement reports, and are therefore, to a certain extent, out of date. But there is reason to believe that the process of sub-division and fragmentation has increased since the publication of these reports. The dates of publication of the settlement reports are

Dacca	..	1917
Bakarganj	..	1915
Faridpur	..	1916
Chittagong	...	1900
Jessore	...	1925



of growing income from land. But where the district was comparatively well-developed at the time of the Permanent Settlement, and rents were low, Sub-infeudation could not proceed far among the tenure-holders, but proceeded considerably downwards, creating under-raiyats of various grades. Thus in Jessore though Sub-infeudation above the grade of the raiyat is neither extensive nor complicated, it very often goes down to 2nd and 3rd grade, and sometimes as low as 7th or 8th grade below the raiyat.

Tenures are sometimes created by absentee or female co-sharers in favour of resident co-sharers in order to ensure a moderate competence from the property ; and petty tenures are also created to cover the homestead lands of men of the *Bhadralok* class.

In some cases permanent tenures were created for the reclamation of forest or waste land, such as the *haolas* in Bakhar-ganj. Sometimes the creation of permanent tenures, at nominal rates simply covers the transfer of property, the method being adopted owing to the unwillingness of the land-holders to relinquish ostensible ownership entailed by sales.

Another way in which Sub-infeudation proceeds is that when estates are scattered, difficulties of management and control are sought to be remedied, by the acquisition of tenure-right in the intruding lands. In his Settlement report Mr. Ascoli says, that this method is very common in Dacca, and has been extensively employed by several landholders.

All these causes have enormously increased the number and variety of intermediate interests in land in Bengal, most of which are heritable, transferable and permanent. According to the Census of 1921, the increase in the number of the landlord class dependent on rent was 23 per cent. between 1901 and 1911 and 9 per cent. between 1911 and 1921. The increase in the population for the respective periods was 8·0 per cent. and 2·8 per cent. In both cases the increase in the landlord class has been something like three times as great as among

the population as a whole. The number of tenures assessed to cess as in the year ending 31st March, 1917 was 25, 75, 443; in the year ending 31st March, 1928, the number was 47,83,565.

Tenures of 3 or 4 grades are common all over Bengal, and in some places their number is very much greater. Thus in Bakarganj, according to the Settlement Reports, between the proprietor paying revenue to the Government and the cultivator who tills the soil, there are normally eight, often twelve and occasionally twenty grades of intermediary holders, each holding a definite and separate sublease of the land from the next higher in scale. To such an extent the process has been carried in Bakarganj, that the various intermediary interests in land are bought and sold like stocks and shares by purchasers and land-speculators who have no direct connection with the land.

Matters are further complicated by the fact that estates and tenures are ordinarily held on a coparcenary system. Each estate has several *hishyas* (shares); and each one of them is held jointly by several persons who own complicated shares in the different *hishyas*. With the growth of individualistic notions the joint-family system has broken up and with it the joint management of family property. But there is no cheap machinery of partition for tenures. These combined with the laws of succession, to bring about the aliquot interests in tenure, by which every owner treats his interests in the property as in every way an independent concern; but he does not claim any specific share of the land as his own, but claims an undivided share in the whole tenure and in every field in it. Sub-division of holdings is bad enough; but this system combines all the disadvantages of divided management, with the confusion of coparcenary ownership. The effects are particularly baneful because they go down to and involve the cultivators. It means all the trouble, loss and disadvantages, not only of separate collections and receipts, but of separate Nazar

Selami and Abwab. Mr. Jack estimates that in Bakharganj owing to the aliquot system, the cultivator's title is complex in one out of every four fields in the district.

As in the raiyati holdings, so also in case of estates and tenures, these are not held in compact blocks but are hopelessly scattered; moreover they do not always cover separate lands, but various interests are interlaced in the same plot in a most bewildering manner. Illustrating the complicated nature of things in Dacca, Mr. Ascoli describes a typical Thana (Nawabganj), with an area of 127 square miles containing 260 villages, as follows: "Within these 260 villages, no fewer than 764 revenue-paying estates, and 65 revenue-free proprietors have been recorded, averaging 3.19 estates per village, with an average of .15 of a square mile for each estate. These small estates, are not, however, compact units, and the total number of entries of estates required, was no less than 2909 or 11.12 in each village. This does not however imply that each separate portion of an estate was as large as .04 of a square mile. In each village in which an estate appears, its land is distributed into several distinct blocks and *chacks*;..... in the thana under discussion, the number of *chacks* of an estate in each village would average about 4; this would reduce the average area of each specific portion of an estate to  $\frac{1}{100}$ th of a square mile".

The tenures also suffer from the same evil; to what absurdity things can be carried will be clear from an example from Mr. Jack's Bakharganj Settlement Report. "There are 57 different interests which co-exist in this single plot (No. 280 in village Mallik Doba) of which 8 are proprietary interests, 45 tenures, and 4 raiyati interests. The expression 'interest' is not meant to convey the idea of an individual person. In some interests there are 8 or 10 persons jointly concerned. On the other hand, the same person, or group of persons may recur in

<sup>1</sup> Report on Settlement Operations in Dacca, page 60.

different interests. When we examine the 57 interests, we find that 41 are purely rent-receiving, while 16 are in physical possession of the soil—an ordinary piece of paddy land measuring less than 2 acres. These 16 groups enjoy it jointly. They have not partitioned the plot, but they have separate ploughs and conduct their cultivating independently. Each group takes a portion of the field and a periodical exchange is made..... Each of these groups receives a separate rent-receipt from his superior landlord, and is in every way treated as a separate tenant.”<sup>1</sup> Absurdity can hardly proceed any further.

## II.

It will be seen that the average holding in Bengal has fallen far short of a subsistence holding, meaning thereby land necessary to keep a cultivating family in ordinary comfort and efficiency. In the Jessore Settlement Report, published in 1925, Mr. Momin has worked out a hypothetical budget of a representative agricultural family of five members—three adults and two children. In preparing it he has taken paddy consumed by an individual to be  $1\frac{1}{2}$  seers per day, which is equivalent to three-quarters of a seer of husked rice, estimated by the Famine Commission to be the amount required to keep a member of the agricultural community physically fit; and the price of paddy has been calculated at Rs. 2-14 per maund. In preparing the budget provision has been made for the absolute necessities of life only. Not only no allowance has been made for any kind of occasional luxuries such as is indulged in during the religious festivals, but nothing has been put down for medicine, winter clothing or primary education; milk has been omitted because it is regarded as a luxury and no allowance has been made for fuel, because the Jessore cultivator does not buy any for his domestic use. The total amount calculated on such a basis comes up to Rs. 250-14 or Rs. 50-3 per head. That it does

<sup>1</sup>. Bakarganj Settlement Report, Page 57.

not err on the side of leniency has been shown by comparison with the figures of the local jail, which spent in 1921, Rs. 68-3-0, on an average on the dietary of every convict and Rs. 12-5 for his clothing and bedding. Mr. Momin has calculated, that assuming that the land of a cultivator, is representative of the district, *i.e.*, distributed among the various crops in the same proportion as the whole area of the district, his net profit from cultivation would be Rs. 32 per gross acre. In this calculation, no allowance has been made for the risks of cultivation, whether due to fluctuation in prices or the uncertainties of weather conditions, the interest on capital applied at various stages, and the various kinds of abwabs and landlord's fees which have become a normal feature of our rural economy. In estimating the costs of production the earnings of management or the remuneration for the cultivators' own labour have not been included ; and this need not be done for our purposes. For under the present circumstances, without any alternative source of employment, the cultivator cannot very well regard land as a separate agent of production, which must justify its employment by its net product, but must treat it as being mainly valuable because it affords him an opportunity for the employment of his labour and capital. We are concerned not with the amount of net profit from land as such, but with the question as to what the cultivator gets out of his land as employed together with his labour and the capital at his disposal. Even on this basis of an income of Rs. 32 per acre, it follows, that in Jessore a family in order to live according to the representative budget of Mr. Momin, must have 7·8 gross acres of land. The area of the average holding according to the Settlement Report is only two acres. But from the cultivator's point of view it is the unit of cultivation and not the holding that counts. The average gross area per head of agricultural population in Jessore is 1·5 acres, *i.e.*, 7·5 acres for an average family are barely sufficient for its existence. The average figures conceal the extreme poverty of those whose incomes are below even this low average. Mr. Momin has given the results of

investigation into the economic condition of 1,643 families comprising 10,019 persons, as follows :—

(1) In comfort	...	15	per cent.
(2) Below comfort	...	32	„ „
(3) Above want	...	33	„ „
(4) In want	...	20	„ „

The third figure comprises those who live from hand to mouth, and the fourth those who are starving.

How far these conditions reflect those of the province as a whole may be judged from the following figures given by Mr. Thompson, in the Census of 1921 showing the comparative wealth of the cultivating classes in eleven districts for which statistics have been prepared by the Settlement Department. If every person in the cultivating classes in a district shared the gross produce of the soil equally, and the share of an individual in Midnapur is represented by 100, then the share of an average individual in other districts would be as follows :—

Bankura (Sadar Sub-division)	...	135·4
Noakhali (Main land)	...	139·5
Tipperra	...	140·2
Mymensingh	...	142·3
Faridpur	...	142·6
Rajshahi	...	148·1
Dacca	...	148·8
Bakharganj	...	153·3
Nadia	...	171·2
Jessore	...	174·6

The estimate apparently is vitiated by the differences in the proportion of gross to net produce in the various districts ; and perhaps the relative prosperity of the Jessore cultivator has been over-estimated. But still, these figures represent a gloomy indicator ; it can hardly be doubted that land has been so sub-divided, and the pressure of population is so great that those who are dependent on it can hardly do more than eke out a miserable pittance out of it.

J. C. GHOSH.

(To be continued.)

## MY DREAM

I had a dream the other night  
Of mystery divine,  
It filled me full of awe and fright  
It permeated time !

I dreamed I wandered down a lane  
Into a garden fair,  
The lawn was newly washed with rain  
The flowers were wondrous rare.

And then I saw amid wide beds  
A couple kneeling there,  
They were peasant-folk and their bare heads  
Were bowed in earnest prayer.

'Twas twilight then, yet past the hour  
For Angelus devotion,  
I stood beneath a shady bower  
Moved to reverent emotion.

I came upon them quietly  
And paused ere I did speak  
To ask them why they piously  
Knelt in devotion deep.

They said, " Buddha shall come here soon—  
So watch—and pray—and wait  
For in the skies, before the moon  
Appears, a light will break !"

I knelt beside this humble pair  
And fervently voiced contrition  
And to our merciful Buddha there  
Asked, for my sin's remission.

Ere I had finished with my prayer  
A light of wide division  
Appeared in the sky now bright and clear  
And showed His Holy Vision !  
I looked at Buddha's Blessed Head  
My heart was beating fast,  
"Lord Buddha"—was all I said  
He spoke to me at last  
"Here are two tablets, and therein  
A record is of Thee  
One is a list of each vile sin  
Committed deliberately."  
"The other tablet that I brought  
Records all good of thee  
Good deeds, prayers and pious thought  
Which greatly pleaseth me."  
My eyes were blurred, I could not see  
The tears began to fall,  
As guilty a feeling came o'er me  
As ever I can recall.  
The precious soul He gave to me  
To guard and carefully tend  
And return to Him completely free  
Of sin, at my life's end—  
Was filled with stain of lowly sin  
I thoughtlessly committed  
I resolved to make amends to Him  
Then I, my life submitted.  
Ere He did go, He spoke once more  
And kindly was His voice !  
"Do good deeds to enter the door  
Of my Kingdom, and rejoice !"

HENRY V. JALASS



## A RATIONAL VIEW OF COLERIDGE'S SUPERNATURALISM.

Both in technique and poetic expression, Coleridge's treatment of the supernatural is rather unique in English poetry. The fact that it comes from a purely literary circumstance in the life of the poet is generally overlooked and, even if mentioned, is disposed of as having no bearing on the question. Lowell described the supernaturalism of Coleridge as "marvellous in its mastery over that delightfully fortuitous inconsequence that is the adamant logic of the dreamland." Walter Pater thought that this "delicately marvellous supernaturalism" had "the plausibility to reason and general aspect of life"; and many others think like this or slightly differently but such laudatory phrases in hyperbole lead us nowhere.

Some critics have stressed upon the influence of certain experiences of supernatural phenomena to Coleridge as a boy. With due allowance made for the idealising tendency with which Coleridge looks back on his childhood, the picture that stands out is of a remarkable boy, solitary, imaginative and precocious. He read "Jack the giant-killer" and "Robinson Crosoe" before he was six and "the Arabian Nights" a little later, which so excited his imagination that he was "haunted by spectres" whenever he "was in the dark." He says, "I became a dreamer and acquired an indisposition to all bodily activity." Apparently at the age of eight, he remembers to have listened to his father telling him about the wonders of the stars and the heavens "without the least mixture of wonder and incredulity." "For," he writes, "from my early reading of fairy tales and about genii and the like, my mind had been inhabited to the vast; and I never regarded my senses in any way as the *criteria* of my belief. I regulated all my creeds by my conceptions, not by my sight, even at that age." It is difficult to say how far the mind of this precocious poet was

really influenced by these boyhood's fanciful studies of folk-tales and romances ; we can only regard them as most unusual experiences for a boy to have had. We know for certain that later in life he outgrew all his childhood's ideas and fancies, which might have just lingered, if at all, somewhere in his subconscious mind. Coleridge as a mature man never really believed ghosts or supernatural spirits as capable of being perceived by the physical senses. On page 234 of his 'Anima Poetae,' he states explicitly : " I am no ghost-seer. I am no believer in apparitions. I do not contend for indescribable sensations, nor refer to, much less ground my convictions on, blind feelings of incommunicable experiences but far less contend against these superstitions in the mechanic sects." In another passage of the same book on page 235, he says, " During the years of ill-health..... . I saw a host of apparitions and heard them too—but I attributed them to an act in my brain. You, according to your own showing, see and hear nothing but apparitions in your brain and strangely attribute them to things that *are* outside your skill." So we may definitely take it that Coleridge's treatment of the supernatural had practically nothing to do with any conscious belief in supernatural agencies. Neither was it suggested to his mind by the studies and excursions into the literature of the supernatural that he had often made.

Professor Lane Cooper of Cornell University in a very illuminating dissertation on 'The Eye in Coleridge' <sup>1</sup> points out that Coleridge was keenly interested in Friedrich Anton Mesmer's cult of hypnotic magnetism and attributes his supernaturalism to a considerable acquaintance with the contemporary notions of ocular hypnosis and animal magnetism. With numerous illustrations from 'The Ancient Mariner,' 'Christabel' and other poems, Mr. Cooper explains some of Coleridge's allusions to hypnotic fascination, hypnotic trances and sugges-

<sup>1</sup> See " Studies in Language and Literature in Honour of James Morgan Hart," published 1900.

tion to his power of 'fixing' the eye. There is no doubt that Coleridge was quite interested in all kinds of study of animal magnetism and mediæval demonology, especially in his earlier years. He himself characterized "all such mysterious phenomena" as "facts of mind." He writes to Thelwall in 1796, "Metaphysics and poetry and 'facts of mind,' that is, accounts of all strange phantoms that ever possessed 'your Philosophy' are my darling studies." But it is very conjectural if Coleridge entered into any systematic study of ocular hypnotism or animal magnetism or how far such a study can be said to have materially influenced the type of supernaturalism that Coleridge had in mind.

The literary circumstance to which reference has been made at the very outset, is connected with the history of the origin and production of the "Lyrical Ballads" in 1798. In the fourteenth chapter of his "Biographia Literaria" Coleridge fully sets forth the ideas out of which the plan of the "Lyrical Ballads" first came. He and Wordsworth were to attempt in verse to make the romantic natural and the natural romantic. But the two poets would start from points diametrically opposite. The starting point of Coleridge was the supernatural. His main object was "to transfer from our inward nature a human interest and a semblance of truth sufficient to procure for these shadows of imagination that willing suspension of disbelief for the moment, which constitutes poetic faith," so that a new kind of supernaturalism—the creation of a new atmosphere, outside human and physical experience would be realized. "The excellence aimed at," Coleridge goes on, "was to consist in the interesting of the affections by the dramatic truth of such emotions as would naturally accompany such situations," and these situations were to be real,—“real in this sense they may have been to every human being, who from whatever sense of delusion, has at any time believed himself under supernatural agency.” Thus it is plain that the intellectual background of these abstract poetic principles is the real important factor

in Coleridge's treatment of the supernatural and his ideas of its function and uses. These intellectual theories far from being an alien and disturbing influence as in the case of Wordsworth, served as the real unifying and co-ordinating element in the art of Coleridge. To undertake to achieve this type of supernaturalism is, of course, not only difficult but requires an art and craftsmanship of the most superior order. It is not certainly easy to create in poetry the charm and plausibility of the supernatural with all the superb beauty of magic and wonder connected with it. From an examination of the materials and machinery of the supernatural with which Coleridge worked it will be possible for us to discover how far he was successful in his attempt and also the causes of his success or failure.

"The Ancient Mariner," "Christabel" and "Kubla Khan" are generally recognized as the best examples of Coleridge's use of the supernatural. The entire romantic machinery of the supernatural is handled in these poems with consummate skill. With many a delicate touch of suggestion, combined with a true psychological insight and simple humanity, Coleridge brings out all the elusive, shadowy phantom-like mysteries of an unseen world and all the mediæval spell and haunting charm of romantic wonders. The "Ancient Mariner" more than fulfils the author's purpose of inducing a "poetic theory" and of producing the desired supernaturalism. It is a triumphant application of a rare method to a strange theme. How is it achieved? How is the effect produced? What is the particular nature of the supernaturalism of the poem? Briefly speaking, the supernatural is achieved by the sheer vividness of imagery and landscape, by

<sup>1</sup> The origin of the composition of the "Ancient Mariner" is described by Wordsworth to Miss Fenwick: *Memoirs of Wordsworth*, London, 1850, pp. 107-108. A further reminiscence of Wordsworth was communicated by Rev. Alexander Dyce to Hartley Coleridge: Note to "Ancient Mariner": See the New Edition of Coleridge's Poems, 1852.

the terse vigour of descriptive phrases and the remarkable power of word-pictures and by the simple beauty of the old ballad with none of its extravagances and the preparation of the reader's mind for the reception of the incredible and the fantastic. Coleridge wields the story into an artistic whole with a sense of unerring propriety. We are made to move in a world of " unearthly weirdness " whose mystery and charm always remain unbroken by any inconsistency. We see the invisible and almost touch the intangible in a world, where the things that are too seldom " dreamt of in our philosophy " loom before our eyes. The story with its mediæval superstitions and irresponsible happenings is made actual and vital to our imagination by the faithful representation of natural phenomena and the simple humanity with which it is informed. Interwoven with the strange and recondite are the primal emotions of love, hate, pain, remorse and hope. " In the handling of a moral fantasy," Mr. Robertson says, " we have enshrined for us a harmony and variety of colors; a wealth of rightly felt and phrased impressions of the real inner and outer world." Industrious commentators have tried to trace features of the ' Ancient Mariner', to Shelvocke's ' Voyages,' ' Epistle' of Paulinus, Captain James's ' Strange and Dangerous Voyage' and various other sources. But for a type of work specifically characteristic of Coleridge's artistic employment of the supernatural, such conjectures are useless. To quote Professor Beers, the poem is nothing but " the baseless fabric of a vision," and also to quote the poet's own words to Allsop, " it cannot be imitated." For Wordsworth to have found fault with the poem, as evident from his patronizing note in the 1800 edition of ' Lyrical Ballads ' only reveals his lack of conception of the supernatural and its function in poetry as understood by Coleridge. Wordsworth was fundamentally different from Coleridge in temperament and outlook. Wordsworth could produce and did produce the *supra*-natural in poetry but not the *super*-natural.

The history of the origin of "Kubla Khan"<sup>1</sup> and the circumstances of its production are too well-known. "Kubla Khan" was virtually composed in sleep or a sort of dream. It has just enough meaning to give it bodily thought. Professor Oliver Elton thinks that "in itself this famous piece is without flaw or beyond praise." "It seems to hover in the air like one of the island enchantments of Prospero," says Mr. Arthur Symonds. Coleridge himself said: "All the images rose before me as *things* with a parallel production of the corresponding expressions." It is a pity that critics like Mr. Traill should have dismissed the poem as hardly more than a psychological curiosity. Also it is difficult to understand how critics like Charles D. Stewart should find in "Kubla Khan" so much as "the most comprehensive panorama of truth—the basic, everlasting truths of life—the organism of Truth itself." The poem, in fact, is nothing more or less than the simple, artistic, verbal realization of a poetic dream, visualized by the sheer imagination of a poet. The dream-faculty is expressed through a succession of gorgeous images—set to bewitching music, haunting and unforgettable. Professor Neilson's apposite remarks on the poem are worth quoting in full: "In Coleridge's 'Kubla Khan' we have no wrestling with spiritual problems, no lofty solution of the problem of conduct found through brooding on the beauties of nature. Instead, a thousand impressions received from the senses, from records of Oriental travel, from numberless romantic tales, have been taken in by the author, dissolved as in a crucible by the fierce heat of his imagination and are poured forth in a molten stream of sensuous imagery, incalculable in its variety of suggestion, yet homogeneous, unified; and despite its fragmentary character, the ultimate expression of a whole romantic world." Those who take the poem to be incoherent may just have missed to follow the very simple transition between the stanzas. It

<sup>1</sup> See Coleridge's Note to the pamphlet publication of the poem in 1816 and also Lane's letter to Wordsworth, dated 26th April, 1816.

seemed to Charles Lamb that the witchcraft of 'Kubla Khan' would hardly "bear daylight." In fact, it has outlasted a century and may outlast many more.

The Quarterly Review (No. C. III, p. 29) commented on the supernatural in 'Christabel' thus: "The thing attempted is the most difficult of execution in the whole field of romance-witchery by daylight."<sup>1</sup> It has been suggested by a French critic, M. Brandl, that Coleridge borrowed the general situation of "Christabel" from Mrs. Radcliffe's "Romance of the Forest" and also a few details here and there from Burger's "Lenore," Monk Lewis' "Alonzo," Walpole's "Mysteries of Udolpho." But this question of indebtedness is quite immaterial when we remember that the supernaturalism of Coleridge is widely different from either of these writers. The difference is between the maker of horrors and the maker of horror. The superior art with which Coleridge excites the supernatural wonder and curiosity and produces the atmosphere of what Aristotle called the "illusion of higher reality" is totally absent in either Mrs. Radcliffe or Horace Walpole. Mr. Arthur Symonds thinks that "Christabel" is "a piece of pure witchcraft needing no further explanation than its mere existence." George Brandes finds that "the chief merit of the poem, apart from its full-toned sweet melody, lies in the peculiar power with which the nature of the wicked fairy is presented to us, the *dæmonic* element which had never been present in such force in English Literature before." Coleridge has been very severely taken to task for not having been able to bring the poem to conclusion in the way he had first intended in 1797. No one was more conscious of his failure to complete the second part of the poem than Coleridge himself. In the 'Table Talk' of July 6, 1833, Coleridge confessed :

<sup>1</sup> For incidents relating to the production of "Christabel" (Parts I and II), see Gilman's "Life of Coleridge," pp. 281 and 301-303; Coleridge's letter of the 9th October, 1800 to Sir H. Davy; "Table Talk" of July 6, 1833, and Preface to the pamphlet-edition of the Poem in 1816, published by John Murray.

"The reason of my not finishing 'Christabel' is not that I don't know how to do it—for I have, as I always had, the whole plan entire from beginning to end in my mind; but I fear I could not carry on with equal success the execution of the idea, an extremely subtle and difficult one." Whatever may be the reason, too much opium or too much German metaphysics, Coleridge felt his inability to "lubricate" his "inventive faculty" and sincerely admitted it. This reminds us, curiously enough, of Friedrich Schlegel explaining the failure of his play 'Alacros' thus: "I should have taken more opium when I wrote it." As for Coleridge, he wanted to hear "*ad libitum*" some "fine music" to "harmonise" his "thoughts" and "animate" his imagination, but unfortunately his imagination in "Christabel" failed to sustain him, music or no music. Among his contemporaries, Jeffrey and Moore did not think very highly of the poem, although Scott and Byron admired it immensely. To Section XIX of his long poem "The Siege of Corinth" Byron appended a note in which he praised "the wild and singularly original and beautiful poem." Scott's "Lay of the Last Minstrel" was modelled on the irregular and yet characteristically melodious metre of 'Christabel.'

There is no need to exaggerate the differences between Wordsworth and Coleridge regarding the problem of the supernatural in poetry. Mr. Emile Legouis has tried to show that Coleridge was successively trying to lure Wordsworth into the region of the fantastic. But the copious records of the incidents relating to the composition of the poems in 'The Lyrical Ballads' hardly seem to point to such a conclusion. Both Coleridge and Wordsworth, from the very beginning of their collaborated works, were perfectly aware of their respective differences in method, treatment and ideas. Referring to the origins of the composition of the "Ancient Mariner," Wordsworth said: "Our respective manners proved so widely different that it would have been quite presumptuous in me to



do anything but separate from an undertaking upon which I could only have been a clog." (Prefatory note to 'We are Seven.') But the harm had already been done. Coleridge could not help introducing in the poem the moral and earthly notion of the expiation of sin, which Wordsworth had already suggested to him. Coleridge, however, came to regret later having agreed to introduce the moral. "It ought to have had no moral," said Coleridge in reply to Mrs. Barbauld's criticism in 1800, "than the 'Arabian Nights' tale of the merchant's sitting down to eat dates by the side of a well and throwing the shells aside and lo ! a genie starts up and says he *must* kill the aforesaid merchant *because* one of the date shells had, it seems, put out the eye of the genie's son." Coleridge's reply seems humorous enough ; he is evidently insisting on that pure beauty which the sheer supernatural effects can produce in poetry. In his own day, some complained that the ballad was too fantastic, others deplored that it had very little practical moral. In any case we would have been perfectly willing to exonerate Coleridge from the absence of any kind of moral whatsoever. As it is the effect of the moral tag at the end of the poem is not too preponderant. The working of the central idea in the poem has not been fundamentally affected and its artistic beauty is quite in keeping with the supernatural effect which Coleridge wanted to create. Modern criticism does not tolerate the carrying on of any poetic theme, natural or supernatural, into the field of merely ethical values. We know that it was Wordsworth who was constantly persuading Coleridge to *explain* and to trace the cause and effect of the supernatural results. Unable to discover any real "semblance of reason" or "probability" in the poem, Wordsworth declared, in an attitude of extreme coldness, quite surprising in a friend and co-worker, that the 'Ancient Mariner' was mainly responsible for the failure of 'the Lyrical Ballads.' Coleridge also could not help lamenting to Hazlitt that "Wordsworth was not prone enough to believe in the traditional superstitions of the place, and that

*there was something corporeal, a matter-of-factness, a clinging to the palpable, and often to the petty, in his poetry in consequence. His genius was not a spirit that descended to him through the air ; it sprang out of the ground like a flower, or unfolded itself from a green spray, in which the goldfinch sang.' ' .*

The influence of Coleridgean supernaturalism is traceable in Scott, Byron, Keats and the Pre-Raphaelites not only in the general pattern and tone of their stories but in many a single line and passage. Thomas Moore's 'Lalla Rookh' and Robert Southey's 'The Curse of Kehama' partly owe their inspiration to the oriental supernaturalism of 'Kubla Khan.' Some time ago the late Mr. George Brandes made a very interesting comparative study of 'The Ancient Mariner' and a poem in German entitled 'Der Camao,' written by an Austrian lyric poet, Mortiz Hartmann. He finds close resemblances between the two both in metrical form and poetic theme. "The comparison assists us," Mr. Brandes adds, "to a clear understanding of the difference between a true poetical conception of the superstitious idea and a romantic treatment of it." 'The type of romantic poetry which Coleridge inaugurated by his artistic handling of the supernatural has lately been systematized and standardized by theorists like Maeterlinck, Mallarmé and other French symbolists and by some of the modern Irish poets like A.E. and William Butler Yeats.

In the magic heights on which Coleridge trod in 'Christabel,' into fairy enchanted seas in which he sailed in 'The Ancient Mariner,' into the land of shadows where he dreamt of 'Kubla Khan,' Coleridge never again found himself. Yet, he might say with his 'Ancient Mariner :—

"We were the first that ever burst  
Into that silent sea."

## “WHEN ALL WAS DARK”

Step by step they cautiously groped their way through the impenetrable darkness. The young woman by his side gripped his hand and he retaliated assuredly. Suddenly they halted. Before their eyes a flickering light revealed a spectacle of dreadful horror. Why had they ventured out on such a quest? For a moment her thoughts turned to the comforting fire they had left at home.

“Let’s go back,” she whispered hysterically.

The man by her side was headstrong and laughed at her fears.

“I want to go home,” again protested the girl.

He refused to heed her protestation. He had paid for their admission and they must have their due. Better thoughts surged through her brain as motionless she gazed as if hypnotized at the terrible feature before her. Suddenly a horrible dread took possession of her. Would this be the end? Surely the man who loved her wouldn’t leave her to die like this. No! no! it couldn’t be, and, as the maddening thought hammered itself into her brain, she stumbled blindly forward. As she did so she grasped the man’s arm for support.

He shuddered and closed his eyes to blot out the dreadful vision dancing before them.

“Oh John, they are going to kill her,” whispered the girl.

He opened his eyes and the tragedy enacted before him struck a paralysing terror into his very fibres. Would nothing save her? He dared not contemplate the next move. If he had known that they were going to witness such a spectacle as this he would never have brought her. Gazing with lips apart like a frightened child he saw a bearded giant brandishing an ugly-looking knife as if about to strike the beautiful young woman lying bound and gagged upon a crude wooden bench.

The girl by his side gave a smothered scream. He too shuddered. *It was hopeless now. Nothing could save the unfortunate woman before them. The end was inevitable.*

Then, as if Heaven has heard her prayer, a huge grotesque shadow appeared and, as they stared, it shaped itself into the form of half wolf, half dog. The helpless woman's expression changed from petrified terror to that of hope. With one bound the animal sprang forward landing fairly and squarely upon the giant's shoulders. The watchers gasped and, as the giant stumbled, the knife fell to the ground.

The woman on the bench struggling for freedom managed to clutch the knife and severing the cords which bound her staggered to her feet. Calling the Alsatian with a fleeting glance at the stunned giant, she hurried away, the dog bounding after her wagging his tail with sheer delight.

The man and woman watching both gave sighs of intense relief and he in his joy drew her fondly towards him.

The first reel of the great Serial had finished.

CLIFFORD STANLEY DEALL.

## ORIGINAL NATURE OF JĀTAKAS

The main object of this article is to prove that, bereft of the Bodhisatta idea, a Jātaka originally consisted of a verse or verses embodying in a concise form a past episode, generally with a moral understood with the help of a prose narration which for the most part remained implicit rather than explicit, changing according to circumstances ; and that all the Jātakas mentioned in connection with the seven Buddhas, *viz.*, Gotama and his six predecessors from Vipassi to Kassapa, were of this type.

While setting forth the notable incidents common to the lives of all Buddhas, the Mahāpadāna Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya (P.T.S. Vol. II, pp. 2-7) mentions only the seven Buddhas referred to above and gives particulars as to the caste, family, age, the tree of Wisdom, the noble pair of disciples, the strength of the Saṅgha, the personal attendant and parents with the kingdom and capital belonging to each, but nowhere does it mention the Bodhisatta of Gotama serving his term of pre-Buddha period under his six predecessors, a fact so strongly presented in the Buddhavaṃsa as being indispensable to the evolution of his Buddhahood.

This is a clear proof of the fact that the Bodhisatta theory is not only incompatible with the seven Buddhas but was altogether unknown in connection with their recognition and the homage which people still paid to their memory, so elaborately and beautifully depicted in the sculptures of the Bhārhut and Sanchi Stūpas.

The Jātakas found on these stūpas, therefore, must, of necessity, be devoid of the Bodhisatta idea being only illustrations of morals taught by the Buddha.

The question which now arises is whether this statement is corroborated by existing Buddhist literature which retains the use of Jātakas as 'primarily illustrative of morals only. In our attempt to show this, we need not go very far ; for, such Jātakas have been found to exist in the Pāli literature itself being in the commentary on the Dhammapada which is almost contemporary with the Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā (i.e., Fausböll's Jātaka collection) making an exclusive use of the Jātakas as previous birth-stories of the Buddha fulfilling his 'pāramitā' virtues.

It may be definitely stated that even when the Bodhisatta idea was rampant in the 5th century A.D., the compiler of the Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā has many a time referred to the Jātakas in his monumental work certainly not for exhibiting the career of the Bodhisatta which he has acknowledged indirectly, but for illustrating the morals of Dhammapada verses, especially of those bearing on the theory of Karma. It is interesting to note, that while in the Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā, the Jātaka stories were being exclusively manipulated for illustrating the previous births of Gotama Buddha as a Bodhisatta, there grew up side by side in Ceylon another commentarial work known as 'Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā,' equally if not more reliable, making use of the same Jātakas for altogether a different purpose.

The author<sup>1</sup> of the Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā, whoever he might be, was undoubtedly a very powerful writer and the mode of his presentation of the Jātakas in his work, apart from testifying to his integrity of purpose in reproducing them faithfully, differs widely and fundamentally from that of the 'Jātaka-Aṭṭhakathā,' and brings out in clear relief the original nature of them in respect of their form and ideal, hitherto remaining inexplicable. As a matter of fact, the Jātakas of Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā prove with the greatest degree of certainty that 'Santikenidāna' in other words 'paccuppanna vatthu,' 'Veyyākaraṇa and 'Samodhāna' were never considered as parts

inseparable from an original Jātaka and that the Jātaka stories of inferior quality were not associated with the Bodhisatta whose introduction into them in the Jātaka-Atthakathā takes away much of their original simplicity and beauty minimising at the same time the historical importance of the prose narration.

We shall now verify our statements by quotations from the former work (the Dhammapada Atthakathā), which edited from various Mss. by the late Mr. H. C. Norman and published by the Pāli Text Society of London, is now available complete in four volumes, volume one having two parts. More than fifty-four Jātakas, the titles of which are mostly wanting, have been cited in this work in four or five different ways, the study of which alone is calculated to bring to light the truth about their real nature and to this we shall presently turn.

Prof. M. Winternitz, Ph.D., in his article on 'Jātaka Gāthās and Jātaka Commentary' (Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. IV, No. 1, 1928, March) has expressed his opinion as to the original form of Jātakas basing his argument on the statements from Jātaka Atthakathā, in the following words:—  
 "Not one, but several literary types are represented in the Jātaka collection. There are some Jātakas which were prose stories with only one or two or a few verses containing either the moral or the gist of the tale. In these cases it is likely enough that the commentary has preserved more or less of the old prose stories. Another type of Jātakas is that of 'Campū' in which the story itself is related alternately in prose and verse, in which case the commentary is often an expansion of the original prose text. But there are other Jātakas which originally consisted of Gāthās only: some of them, ballads in dialogue form, others ballads in a mixture of dialogue-verses and narrative stanzas, others again epics or fragments, and some even mere strings of moral maxims on some topic. In all these cases the entire prose belongs to the commentary."

To this very important finding we are now going to add further evidence from the Dhammapada Atthakathā which

will undoubtedly throw fresh light on the subject. The presentation of Jātakas in this work has been made in the following different ways :—

1. When the Teacher moralizes on an occasion and refers to a well known Jātaka by name, he points out the title only which in Pāli, is expressed by 'Jātakam katheti' as in the following :—

(a) "Bhikkhave bhaṇḍanakalahaviggahavivādā nūm' ete anattā-  
rakkā. Kalahaṃ nissūyā hi laṭukikāpi sakunikā hatthināgaṃ jivitakkayaṃ  
veśi Laṭukika Jātakam kathetva Bhikkhave samaggū hotha mā vivadatha,  
ādaṃ nissūya hi anekasahassavaṭṭakā jivitakkhayaṃ pattā ti Vattaka  
takam kathesi"—(Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 55).

(b) "Satthā āma Visākhe pāpikā va esā surā nāma, etaṃ hi nissūya  
aneke sattā anayavyasanaṃ pattā ti vatvā 'kadā paṇ' esā bhante uppannā'  
ti vuttē, tassā uppatthiṃ vitthārena kathetuṃ atītāṃ āharitvā Kumbha-  
Jātakam kathesi ti"—(Vol. III, p. 103).

(c) "na bhikkhave idān' eva pubbe pi mayhaṃ ātīsamūgame  
pokkharavassaṃ vassī yeva' ti vatvā Vessantara Jātakam kathesi"—  
(Vol. III, pp. 163-64).

(d) "na bhikkhave idān' eva pubbe pi Devadatto nūnappakārena  
mayham vadhāya parisakkati ti vatvā Kuruṅgamiga jātakādini kathetvā  
..."—(Vol. III, p. 152).

The examples quoted above will clearly show that the expression 'Jātakam katheti' in the work is equivalent to simple reference to a Jātaka by name only, for drawing a moral and the story in which the past life of the Teacher may or may not be implicated, is not reproduced at all.

2. In the next place we shall see what is denoted by the expression 'idam Jātakam katheti' as against 'Jātakam katheti' in the above. The following will serve as examples :—

(a) "na bhikkhave idān' eva ti vatvā sabbajanaassa appiye caṇḍe  
pharuse Bārāṇasīyaṃ Piṅgalarije nāma mate mahājanassatuṭṭhabhāvaṃ  
dipetum—

Sabbo jano himsito Piṅgalena

tasmim mate paṇḍayam vedayanti

piyo-nu te āsi akananetto

kaśmā tuvaṃ rodasi dvārapāla :



Na pe piyo āsi akaphanetto

bhāyāmi paccāgamanāya tassa

ito gato himseyya maccurājaṃ

So himsito āneyya puna idhā' ti.

*idaṃ Piṅgalajātakaṃ kathesi.*'' (Vol. I, Pt. I, pp 149-50.)

(b) "Sādhu sādhu Tissa evaṃ etaṃ emesaṃ hi sattānaṃ paṭhaviyam nīpajjitvā amataṭṭhānaṃ nāma natthi ti vatvā,

'Upasālhakanāmānaṃ sahaṣṣāni catuddasa

aṣṣaṃ padese daḍḍhūni natthi loke anāmatam

Yamhi saccaṃ ca dhammo ca ahimsā saññāmo damo

etaḍ ariyā sevanti etaṃ loke anāmatan 'ti

*imaṃ dukanipāte Upasālhakajātakaṃ kathesi*'' (Vol. II, pp. 98-99.)

(c) "na bhikkhave idān'eva pubbe pi esa parihiṇo yevā ti vatvā,

Akkhi bhinnū pato nattho sakhiḃeḃe ca bhaṇḍanam

ubhato paduṭṭhakammanto udakamhi thalamhi cā ti.

*ādiṃ jātāhāni kathesi*'' (Vol. I, Pt. I, pp 145-46)

It is thus evident from the above examples that when a Jātaka is closed immediately after mentioning the verse or verses without the addition of 'samodhāna' or a separate moral attached to it, the expression 'idaṃ or imaṃ or ādi Jātakaṃ katheti' is invariably used after these verses which therefore must have been the original form of the Jātaka as known to our author who stressed the fact by 'idaṃ' or 'imaṃ' together with 'Jātakaṃ katheti.' The matter will be more clear when this 'idaṃ Jātakaṃ katheti' is contrasted with 'idaṃ Jātakaṃ vitthārena katheti' in the next method.

3. The expression 'idaṃ Jātakaṃ katheti' after verses constituting the Jātaka is changed into 'idaṃ Jātakaṃ vitthāretvā katheti or vitthāresi' whenever there is added to it a note of identification or a separate moral suitable for the occasion. The following are the examples:—

(a) "Satthā' na bhikkhave idān'eva pubbe pi Śāriputto kataññu katavedī yevā' ti vatvā taṃ attham pakāsetuṃ

Alinacittam nissūya pahatṭhā mahati camū

Kosalam senāsantuṭṭham jīvagāham agāhayi

Evam nissayasampanno bhikkhu āradhaviṛiyo  
bhāvayaṃ kusalaṃ dhammaṃ yogakkhemassa pattiya  
pāpuneyyānupubbena sabbasaṃyojanakkhayaṃ' ti

*Idaṃ Dukanipāte Alinacitta jātakaṃ vitthāretvā katheṣi: 'tadā kira vadḍhakīhi pādassa ārogakaraṇabhāvena [kataṃ attano upakāraṃ fiatvā sabbasetahatthipotakassa dāyako ekacāri hatthi Sariputtatthero ahoṣi ti etc. etc.—(Vol. II, p. 106).*

(b) Satthā' pubbe p'ete gadrabhayoniyam nibbattā pañcasata gadrabhā hutvā pañcasatānaṃ ājānīyasindhavānaṃ allarasamuddika—pānakapitāvasesaṃ uccitṭhakasaṭaṃ udakena madditvā makacipilotikahi parissāvitattā 'vālodakam' ti saṃkhaṃ gataṃ apparasam nihīnaṃ pivitvā madhumattā viya nadantā vicariṃsūti vatvā:

Vālodakam apparasam nihīnam.  
pītvā mado jāyati gadrabhānaṃ  
imañ ca pītvāna rasaṃ paṇitaṃ  
mado na sañjāyati sindhavānaṃ

Appaṇ ca pītvāna nihīnajaṇṇo  
So majjati tena janinda phutṭho  
dhorayhasali ca kulamhi jāto  
na majjati aggarasaṃ pivitvā' ti

*idaṃ Vālodakajātakaṃ vitthārṇa kathetā' evaṃ Bhikkhave sappurisa lobhadhammaṃ vivajjetvā sukhitaḥkāle pi dukhitaḥkāle pi nibbikārā va honti,"—(Vol II, pp 155-56).*

(c) "Satthā' na Bhikkhave esa idān'eva tumhākaṃ lābhantaṛāyaṃ karoti, pubbe pi akāsi yeva ti vatvā tehi yācito atītaṃ āharitvā:

Yo pubbe karaṇīyaṃ pacchā so kātum icchati  
varaṇakattḥhabhañño va sa pacchā-m-anutappati ti

*jātakaṃ vitthāreṣi: tadā kira te bhikkhū pañcasatā mānavaḥkā ahesuṃ, kusitamānavaḥkā ayaṃ bhikkhu ahoṣi, ācariyo pana tathāgato va ahoṣi ti*

—(Vol. III, pp. 408-9).

(d) Satthā 'na bhikkhave idān'iva pubbe p' aham etassa rasataphāya baddhamānassa avassayo jāto yevā' ti vatvā tehi yācito tass' atthassa pakāsanatthaṃ atītaṃ āharitvā:

Na kir' atthi rasehi pāpiyo  
āvāsehi vā santhavehi vā  
vātamiḡaṃ gehanissitaṃ  
vasaṃ ānesi rasehi Sañjaya' ti

*Ekkanipāte imaṃ Vātamigaṇātakam vitthāretvā* ' tadā Sunderasamuddo vātamigo ahoṣi, imaṃ pana gātham vatvā tassa vissajjāpetā raṭṭhā mahā-macco aham evā ṭi jātakam somodhānesi—(Vol. IV. pp. 198-99).

Other instances of ' Vitthāra, Jātakas ' in the work are :—

Uraṅga Jātaka (Vol III, p. 277); Babbu Jātaka (Vol. II, p. 152); Mahāpaduma Jātaka (Vol. III, p. 181); Akālarāvi Jātaka (Vol. III, p. 143); Nigrodha Jātaka (Vol. III, p. 148); Culladhannuggaha Jātaka (Vol. IV, p. 67); Sūkara Jātaka (Vol. III, p. 347), etc., etc.

Thus it will be evident from the above examples that the addition of the word ' vitthāra ' or expansion is found in every case wherever a Jātaka in verse is augmented by a note of identification or by a further moralisation following it, in which the past life of the Teacher may or may not be involved. The force of ' idaṃ ' or ' imaṃ ' coming as it does immediately after the verse or verses together with ' vitthāreti ' preceding the identification, makes the conclusion inevitable that ordinarily Jātakas existed in verses and that the portion dealing with identification was added afterwards showing ' attā ' or previous lives not only of the Teacher in connection with his followers, but also of other people independently of him with the main object of popularising the theory of Karma affecting man's life. Devoid of the ' vitthāraṃ ' or the expansion in the shape of identification, a Jātaka was thus originally made up of a verse or verses embodying a past story with a simple moral.

4. In the fourth place we shall see that the prose narration without the aid of which the verse or verses of a Jātaka were unintelligible and which therefore, must have followed it from the very beginning was subject to variation. The prose narration or the ' atthupatti ' (lit. interpretation) as it is called (Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 285) also known as ' atitavatthu ' (Vol. I,

Pt. II, p. 254) is found attached to several Jātakas mentioned in our work. They are as follows :—

- |   |                                 |
|---|---------------------------------|
| (1) Hatthināga Jātaka (Title not given) | Vol. I, Pt. I, pp.80-82.        |
| (2) Kappāṭaka Jātaka                    | Do. Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 123-25.  |
| (3) Kesava Jātaka                       | Do. Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 342-45. |
| (4) Cullasetthi Jātaka                  | Do. Vol. I, Pt. II. pp. 250-54. |
| (5) Kuddālapandita Jātaka               | Do. Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 311-13. |
| (6) Suva Jātaka                         | Do. Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 284-85. |
| (7) Kuṭṭidusaka Jātaka                  | Do. Vol. II, pp. 22-23.         |
| (8) Mahimsāsakamāra Jātaka              | Do. Vol. III, pp. 73-77.        |
| (9) Somadatta Jātaka                    | Do. Vol. III, pp. 124-26.       |
| (10) Godharājā Jātaka                   | Do. Vol. IV, pp. 154-56.        |
| (11) Kurudhamma Jātaka                  | Do. Vol. IV, pp. 88-89.         |
| (12) Bahubhāni Jātaka (Title given)     | Vol. IV, pp. 91-92.             |

In the last case the prose narration is clearly separated from the Jātaka proper or the verse portion and the title of the Jātaka is mentioned which however is at variance with the corresponding title in Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā.

In every case the prose narration of these Jātakas is called a story of the past or 'atītam' with which word it begins and ends serving the purpose of some 'dhammadesanā' or moral instruction.<sup>1</sup>

In the case of 'Suva Jātaka' No. (6) in the above, it is definitely suggested that the atthuppatti was subject to change while the Jātaka proper or the verse Jātakā and the concluding part of the 'atthuppatti' remained the same as in the 'dasanipāṭa' of the original. After mentioning only a single verse out of the ten constituting the Jātaka proper our author sums up the prose portion thus :—

"Sabbam Jātakam dasanipāṭe āgatanayen' ova vitthāretabbam atthuppatti yeva hi tattha ca idha ca nānā sesam tādissam eva"—(Vol I P II pp. 284-85).

<sup>1</sup> 'Atītam āhari' and 'āharitvā Jātakam Samodhānesi seems to be the characteristic of this group.

\* The expression of such an opinion on the part of an eminent Buddhist scholar who was apparently relying upon a Jātaka Atthakatha different from that of Fausböll's edition, renders the whole collection of such narrative parts of doubtful historical value if not altogether unacceptable. The position will be more clear upon a comparison of the narrative parts of the Jātakas in Dhammapada Atthakathā with the corresponding narratives of Fausböll's Jātaka collection. The prose portion therefore, has to be accepted with a degree of reservation. Descriptions unwarranted by the verse Jātakas should be subjected to careful scrutiny before they are accepted as pieces of historical evidence on the conditions of ancient India.

Another important feature of these Jātakas with 'atthupatti's, is that they invariably have the word 'Samodhāna' in the expression 'Jātakam samodhāneti' towards the end; and the meaning of 'samodhāna' as will appear from 'Kurudhamma Jātaka' No. (11) in the above, is 'proper understanding in a particular light.'

The additional note in the form of a verse attached to this Jātaka clearly stating 'evam dhārethā Jātakam' for 'Samodhānam' leaves no doubt as to the fact that originally 'Samodhāna' as a forced interpretation formed no part of a Jātaka and is to be looked upon as a later accretion.

The narrative parts of all these Jātakas except those that refer to the Bodhisatta, are perfectly free from any sort of reference to any previous birth of the Teacher and individually constitute an independent story of the past.

5. In the fifth place, we shall see that the prose part alone was not considered as Jātaka proper. The strongest proof of this is afforded by the absence of the expression 'Jātakam samodhāneti' or the word 'Jātaka' from such prose portions

<sup>1</sup> Samodhāna = sam (proper) + avadhāna (understanding).

as are given shorn of the Jātaka verses. The following are the examples :—

- (1) Duggatagahapati Jātaka—Vol. IV, p. 55.
- (2) Saṅkha Jātaka —Vol. III, p. 448.
- (3) Aggamahesi Jātaka —Vol. III, p. 297.
- (4) Udda Jātaka. —Vol. III, p. 141.
- (5) Paccekabuddha Jātaka —Vol. I P II, pp. 224-25.
- (6) Tagarasikhi Jātaka —Vol. IV, pp. 77-78.
- (7) Sālika Jātaka —Vol. III, p. 33.

The titles are of our own making and could not be found in the text. They are invariably called 'Atitas' and in Nos. 6 and 5 of the above, the 'atīta' is denoted by 'Bhutapubbam' and 'Pubbakammam' respectively. To this class of Jātakas, if we are to call them Jātakas at all, also belong those that have been traced in the Vinaya and the Nikāyas, all having the characteristic of 'Bhutapubbam' going before them but not the expression 'Jātakam samodhāneti' towards the end.

Thus a Jātaka, as understood by the author of the Dhammapada Commentary, consisted of a verse or verses embodying a past episode with a narrative varying according to circumstances. We shall next discuss the ideal or the functions of Jātakas.

The connotation of the term 'Jātaka' as retained in Hindu Astrology appears to be the astrological calculation of a nativity, probably derived from still earlier application of the word meaning simply nativity or the fact of being born, in which sense it has been found in various works such as Bhāgavat Purāna ; Br̥hat Jātaka, Kathāsaritsāgara, Rājatarangini, etc., (*vide* Sir Monier-William's 'A Sanskrit English Dictionary,' p. 418). In other words, the life-story of a being as calculated at its birth, or simply, its life-story may be looked upon as its Jātaka which curiously enough, exactly fits in with the sense conveyed by each verse Jātaka if we deduct from it the portions

dealing with 'Samodhāna' and 'Veyyākaraṇa,' i.e., its 'vitthāra' parts. The 'paccuppanna vatthu' as forming no part of a Jātaka has never been placed in our work under it as has been done in the Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā edited by Fausbøll.

From the popularity which the word Jātaka enjoyed and the fact, that Buddhism never coined any new word as a vehicle of its especial message but used old words with new interpretations, it may not be altogether amiss to state, that in pre-Buddhistic days 'Jātakas' were verses of various types dwelling on the lives of human beings and of animals of bygone ages preserved in memory by the people. The Buddhists took over these versified stories and from the time of the Buddha onwards have manipulated them in diverse ways making themselves solely responsible for their preservation up till now.

From 'Culla Niddesa,' a very old commentary on the 'Parāyana Vagga' of 'Sutta Nipāta,' dating as early as 1st or 2nd century B.C., we come to learn that the number of 'Jātakas' as known at the time, was five hundred only and that they were stories of the previous births of the Teacher as also of other people, utilised for giving moral instructions put into the mouth of the Teacher himself.

"Bhagavā pañca jātakasatāni bhāsanto attano ca paresaṃ ca atītaṃ ādisati"—(Culla Niddesa, p. 80)

But upon a close examination when it is found that these births have each a 'nāma' and a 'gotta,' we find it indeed, difficult to include the animal births of the Jātaka-collection in them.

"Bhagavā attano atītaṃ ekaṃ pi jātiṃ ādisati, dve pi jātiyo, etc. Amutra āsiṃ evaṃ nāmo evaṃ gotto evaṃ vaṃṇo, etc."

"Bhagavā paresaṃ atītaṃ ekaṃ pi jātiṃ ādisati dyaṃ pi jātiyo, etc., same as above"—(P. T. S. Culla Niddesa, p. 79).

The Bodhisatta idea in Jātakas maintaining that they are in a progressive order beginning from the birth of Sumedha

Brāhman to that of Gotama Buddha,<sup>1</sup> is completely absent. And if we accept all these five hundred births as human births only, indicated by the legends of the Buddha Vipassi, Mahā Sudassana, Mahā Govinda, and Maghādeva, cited as examples therein, we need not have any difficulty in finding out the required number as the 'atīta' story given on page 319, Com. Vol. III alone supplies  $500 \times 3 = 1500$  human births of the Teacher himself (cf. F. Vol. I, pp. 308-10).

With the introduction of the Bodhisatta theory along with that of the 'pāramitā's, perhaps borrowed from Mahāyāna doctrine, the Jātaka collection of old assumed altogether a different aspect in new Buddhism. Stories of notable animals henceforward received recognition as previous birth stories of the Teacher and of his disciples

We have already remarked in a previous article (Bhārhuṭ Jātakas in a New Light<sup>2</sup>) that these Jātaka stories were utilised in the Buddhavamsa and Cariyā-piṭaka in better forms and with higher morals than their originals, to show the training period of the Bodhisatta and that they were not called Jātakas but *cariyas* though they included animal births. In the 'Milinda' the Jātaka stories also not called Jātakas, were similarly manipulated to show the high moral conduct of the Bodhisatta especially in relation to the opposite tendency of his antagonist Devadatta in their previous births, including animal births to a greater extent. But, at any rate, any and every story of the Jātaka collection was not regarded as a Bodhisatta Jātaka, which as a rule, was only applicable to the case of those with very high morals as befitting the career of a would-be Buddha. The forced usage of every Jātaka as a Bodhisatta Jātaka in the

<sup>1</sup> "Dīpaṅkarapādamūlesmiṃ hi katābhinihārassa Mahāsattassa yāva Vessantara attabbhāvā cavitva Tusitapure nibbatti tāva pavatto kathāmaggo Dūrenidānaṃ nāma "

"Apapaṅkādini purā jātakaṃ Mahesinā  
Yāni yesu ciraṃ Satthā lokanīthharaṇatthiko  
anante bodhisambhāre paṃpācasi nāyako."

—Nidānakathā, F. Vol. I, pp. 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> The Calcutta Review, August, 1928.



*Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā* of the 5th century A.D. in Ceylon, has to a great extent deteriorated the original simplicity and therefore the historical importance of these stories as will be evident from a comparison of the identical stories with or without the *Bodhisatta* as found in the *Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā* and *Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā* respectively.

From examples already quoted, it will be found that the *Jātakas* of *Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā* group themselves into five separate classes representing different stages of development according as they illustrate (1) only morals, (2) the previous careers of people other than the Teacher, (3) the previous career of his disciples in connection with which his own past life is slightly touched, (4) the previous career of the Teacher as the hero of a story, and (5) the exalted life of the *Bodhisatta*.

Class (A) :—The following ' *Jātakas* ' having no bearing on the previous life of any one connected with the occasion, illustrate only morals :—

(1) and (2) *Laṭukikā Jātaka* and *Vaṭṭaka Jātaka* (Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 55) in which it is pointed out that ' united we stand, divided we fall.'

(3) *Upasālhaka Jātaka* (Vol. II, pp. 98-99) showing that there is no place free from death.

(4) *Vālodaka Jātaka* (Vol. II, pp. 155-56) inculcating that wise men are never moved by the ups and downs of life.

(5) *Mandhātu Jātaka* (Vol. III, p. 240) showing that there is no contentment in sensual enjoyment.

(6) *Uruga Jātaka* (Vol. III, p. 271) illustrating that the wise are not affected by the removal from their midst of their dearest relations through death, a condition which is inevitable.

And (7) *Mātuposakanāgarājā Jātaka* (Vol. IV, p. 13) pointing out that serving parents was an ancient virtue.

Class (B) :—The *Jātakas* of this class, in addition to serving as moral lessons, were each spoken with reference to the past story of a character or characters other than the Teacher determining their present characters and may be looked upon as

illustrations of the doctrine of Karma affecting all creatures. They are the following :—

(1) Piṅgala Jātaka spoken with reference to Devadatta's cruelty (Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 149-50).

(2) Ubhatobhatṭha Jātaka spoken with reference to Devadatta's loss of support (Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 146), *cf.* F. Vol. I, pp. 482-83).

(3) Kuṭṭidusaka Jātaka with regard to the conduct of Mahākassapa and of his two disciples in a previous birth (Vol. II, pp. 22-23).

(4) Tuṇḍila Jātaka spoken with reference to the previous lives of a group of bhikkhus who became arahats upon hearing a sermon (Vol. II, pp. 32-33).

(5) Alinacitta Jātaka spoken regarding the previous lives of Rādhathera and Sāriputta (Vol. II, p. 106).

(6) Sālika Jātaka spoken with reference to the past life of a fowler in relation to a 'bhikkhu' (Vol. III, p. 33).

(7) Kumbha Jātaka spoken regarding the conduct of drunken girls in the presence of the Buddha in a previous birth (Vol. III, p. 103).

(8) Udda Jātaka spoken with reference to the previous conduct of Upananda Sākyaputta and of two monks quarrelling over the possession of a valuable blanket and two upper-robcs (Vol. III, p. 141).

(9) Parosahassa Jātaka spoken regarding the eloquence of Sāriputta in a previous birth (Vol. III, p. 230).

(10) Natatthi Jātaka explaining the previous life of Rohini, a sister of Thera Sāriputta (Vol. III, p. 297).

(11) Sūkara Jātaka spoken with reference to the conduct of Sāriputta towards Luḷudāyi in a previous birth (Vol. III, pp. 346-47).

(12) Kātāhaka Jātaka spoken regarding the previous life of the monk Tissadāhara (Vol. III, pp. 358-59).

(13) Kāka Jātaka spoken with reference to the conduct of several bhikkhus at the death of a female lay disciple who had served them well when alive (Vol. III, p. 423).

(14) Bahubhāni Jātaka spoken in illustration of the past life of the talkative Kokālika bhikkhu (Vol. IV, pp. 91-92).

(15) Mahilāmukha Jātaka, containing the story of an elephant illustrating the frivolous nature of a certain monk in a past existence (Vol. IV, pp. 96-97).

The principal characteristic of these jātakas is that they are perfectly free from any reference to the previous life of the Teacher or to any career of the Bodhisatta. The fact, that without a past life of the Teacher or the Bodhisatta these stories were recognised as 'Jātakas,' is sufficient to establish the contention that originally they were fables serving as moral lessons for mankind. In the second stage, *i.e.*, in the time of the Buddha, they were used both for moral lessons and for illustrating the doctrine of Karma forming the back-bone of his religion with reference to particular people.

Class (C) :—Our next class of Jātakas will be those as are given in contracted forms in verse with a view to illustrating other peoples' conduct in connection with which the past life of the Teacher is only implied and is not expressly mentioned. They are :—

(1) Lakkhaṇa Jātaka spoken regarding Sāriputta as a son of the Buddha in a previous birth (Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 143-44)—*cf* F. I, p. 144).

(2) Viraka Jātaka spoken regarding Devadatta's imitation of the Teacher in a previous birth (Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 144)—*cf* F. II, p. 150.

(3) Garuḷa Jātaka spoken for the same purpose as above (Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 144)—*cf* F. II, p. 163.

(4) Virocana Jātaka Do (Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 145)—*cf* F. I, p. 490.

(5) Kuruṅgamiga Jātaka spoken regarding Devadatta's attempt to murder the Buddha in a previous birth (Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 145)—*cf* F. I, p. 173.

(6) Javasaṅkha Jātaka spoken regarding Devadatta's ungratefulness in a previous birth (Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 145).

(7) Kaṇhausabha Jātaka spoken with regard to the inability of other people to bear the burden of the Teacher in a previous birth (Vol. III, p. 212-13).

(8) Nandivīsāla Jātaka spoken for the same purpose as above (Vol. III, pp. 212-13).

(9) Kuṇḍakasindhavapotaka Jātaka spoken with reference to the Teacher's accepting from Puṇṇā a meal consisting of cakes in a previous birth (Vol. III, p. 325).

(10) 'Yathā nadi ca pantho' Jātaka (cf. Anabhirati Jātaka of F. I, p. 301) spoken with reference to the inconsistent nature of women as explained by the Teacher in a previous birth (Vol. III, p. 349).

(11) Simple reference to Vessantara Jātaka in prose illustrating a particular miraculous power of the Teacher while he was born as prince Vessantara in a previous birth (Vol. III, p. 164).

These Jātakas, all of which excepting No. 11, are given in verse, present the Teacher in an additional note attached to each, in a form less prominent than his associates the depicting of whose characters appears to be the main object of the author. In them the character of the Teacher as expressed in prose undoubtedly serves as the background to the forefront of which his satellites are made to appear in deeper colour than himself. The mention of 'idaṃ' or 'imaṃ' or 'ādi' Jātaka immediately after the verse of each having practically no reference to the previous life of the Teacher or the Bodhisatta, further corroborates the fact of the existence of Jātakas in verse embodying independent stories.

Class (D) :—In this group will be placed such Jātakas as contain in the 'vitthāra' or Samodhāna parts of each the identification of the principal hero with the Teacher in a past existence but having in the narrative part, wherever it is found, no reference to him at all neither he is called the Bodhisattva in the Samodhāna. These are :—

(1) Kappaṭa Jātaka (Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 123-25) ; (2) Rukkha-

*devatā Jātaka* (Vol. II, pp. 14-19) ; (3) *Babbu Jātaka* (Vol. II, p. 152) ; (4) *Akālārāvikukkūṭa Jātaka* (Vol. III, p. 143) ; (5) *Nigrodha Jātaka* (Vol. III, p. 148) ; (6) *Varanakatthabhañja Jātaka* (Vol. III, p. 409) ; (7) *San̐kha Jātaka* (Vol. III, pp. 445-48) ; (8) *Culladhanuggha Jātaka* (Vol. IV, pp. 66-67) ; (9) *Godharājā Jātaka* (Vol. IV, pp. 154-56) ; (10) *Vātamiga Jātaka* (Vol. IV, pp. 198-99) ; (11) *Cullasetṭhi Jātaka* (Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 250-54) ; (12) *Suva Jātaka* (Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 284-85) ; (13) *Kuddālapaṇḍita Jātaka* (Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 311-13) ; (14) *Kesava Jātaka* (Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 342-45) and (15) *Somadatta Jātaka* (Vol. III, pp. 124-25).

The narrative parts of these Jātakas having no mention of the Teacher constitute independent stories and the identification which occurs in the Samodhāna parts, apparently seems to be the result of an after-thought.

The 'Samodhāna,' the narrative part of which is not given, of the verse Jātaka mentioned on page 319, Vol. III, contains reference to  $500 \times 3 = 1500$  births of the teacher as a member of the same family standing in close relation to a certain Brahmin and his wife living in Sāketa and is in agreement with the account of the same Jātaka (*Sāketa Jātaka*, F. I, pp. 308-10) in *Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā*.

The separate arrangement of these Jātakas as distinguished from the list of Bodhisatta Jātakas containing the Bodhisatta in their narrative parts to be given next, will no doubt testify to the fact that even in the 5th century A. D. the Bodhisatta idea in every birth story, be it of the Teacher in a different capacity, had not commended itself to the talents of the great scholars of Ceylon. As a matter of fact, the ideal of the Bodhisatta, as will be evident from the Bodhisatta Jātakas coming next, appears to be much higher than that of an ordinary Jātaka of the Teacher. The Bodhisatta Jātakas invariably contain each a very lofty moral and their percentage in the list of the Jātakas in our work is very small being 11 % per cent. or 6 in 54. Therefore, in the opinion of the author of the

*Dhammapada Atthakathā*, it seemed that the Bodhisatta existence of the Teacher was of a far nobler type than his ordinary existence in a previous birth.

Class (E):—This group includes only the Bodhisatta Jātakas with a short note on the moral contained in each:—

(1) *Hatthināga Jātaka* (Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 80-82) in which the Bodhisatta then born as the leader of a herd of elephants forgives his deadliest foe out of regard for the yellow robe which he had on.

(2) *Devadhamma Jātaka* (Vol. III, pp. 73-77) in which the Bodhisatta then born as *Mahimsāsaka kumāra* saves the lives of his two younger brothers from the wrath of a mighty *Yakkha* by instructing him in the 'Devadhamma' or the religion of gods.

(3) *Mahāpaduma Jātaka* (Vol. III, pp. 181-82) in which the Bodhisatta born as a prince, rejected the immoral proposal of his step-mother, at whose instigation he was ordered by his father to be thrown down from a precipice and was rescued by a *Nāga* king receiving him on his broad hood.

(4) *Duggatagahapati Jātaka* (Vol. IV, pp. 54-55). In this birth the Bodhisatta born as a poor Brahmin, yearned for cultivating 'jhāna' and 'abhiññā' in a forest and stepped out of his home leaving his young child and wife asleep at night.

(5) *Kurudhamma Jātaka* (Vol. IV, pp. 8-89). The Bodhisatta born as a righteous monarch observed in this existence, the 'Kurudhamma' or the practice of the five precepts and by his example and gifts, especially of a white elephant, saved the kingdom of *Kalinga* from drought and famine.

(6) *Khadirangāra Jātaka* (Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 447). It is emphasised in this Jātaka that the Bodhisatta birth of the Teacher causing lotuses to rise from a heap of ashes, was equally wonderful and dignified.

Thus, in the afore-mentioned groups we have successfully traced the manipulation of Jātakas as an exponent of

Buddhism in several stages. It is now clear that the Bodhisatta idea was not an inherent feature of the original Jātakas. Moreover, the fact, that they were utilised in more developed forms when associated with the Teacher, in early Nikāyas, as 'Suttantas' or 'Bhutapubbas' or 'Apadānas,' in 'Cariyapitaka,' as 'cariya' stories, and in the 'Milinda,' as narratives without the title Jātaka,—seems to strengthen our conclusion that originally popular folklores went under the name of Jātakas which early Buddhism in its desire to avoid vulgarity in connection with the life of the Teacher, shunned as much as possible; and it was not until some time after the beginning of the Christian era, that the Jātakas came to be directly associated with his life. Even then, only the more enlightened Jātakas were regarded as the previous birth stories of the Teacher or of his Bodhisatta.

We shall now conclude, adding a short note on their nomenclature. It appears from his modes of presentation that the author is perfectly silent over the nomenclature of most of the Jātakas he has quoted. By simply stating that the Jātaka is concluded, he has left the task of selecting the title entirely to the fancy of his readers. In the case where he mentions one, as in the Bahubhāni Jātaka, it appears to be at variance with the title of the corresponding Jātaka in Jātaka Aṭṭhakatha having Kacchapa Jātaka instead. This omission or variation, whatever it is, can only be accounted for by the fact that the exact titles of these Jātakas were not yet settled. It becomes apparent then, that originally the verse-Jātakas existing in the form of an anthology like the verses of the Dhammapada, had no titles to distinguish them and individual authors when utilising them in their works, gave such titles to them as, in their opinion, suited best their narrative parts mostly remaining implicit rather than explicit.<sup>1</sup> The most

1) "The canonical Jātaka was a verse-Jātaka, and handed down in different Mss. from those of the Jātaka-Aṭṭhakathā, which consists of Gāthās and prose"—Prof. M. Winternitz in his article already referred to.

correct way of designating these verse-Jātakas, would be, to call them after the first two or three words with which each begins, a suggestion having foundation in the fact that a particular pillar-Jātaka of Bhārhut ('Yam bramaṇo avayesi' Jātaka) is exactly designated by the first three words of the verse it contains. Thus, the nomenclature, in most cases, happens to be a good indicator of the stage to which a Jātaka belongs and also of the ideal which it sets up.

GOKULDAS DE



## THE ANNUAL CONVOCATION OF THE DACCA UNIVERSITY

### I.—The Vice-Chancellor's Address.<sup>1</sup>

YOUR EXCELLENCY AND CHANCELLOR,

It gives me very great pleasure to again welcome you to preside at the Convocation of the University. Since you became Chancellor you have taken a deep personal interest in the progress of the institution and the welfare of its students. In session 1927-28 you presented a magnificent cup to be awarded annually to the *victor ludorum* in athletics, and during the past session you showed in a very helpful way your interest in the academic activities of the University by presenting a Chancellor's gold medal and prize which will be awarded annually to the successful competitor in an essay competition. All members of the University are grateful to Your Excellency for the encouragement you are thus giving to the students.

There are signs that the University is on its academic side making steady progress. Certain members of the University have achieved during the session notable academic successes. An old student, Mr. Moazzam Hossain, has recently obtained the Ph.D. degree of the University of Oxford. Mr. Hossain took his M.A. degree in Arabic in 1924 and, after working for a session as a research scholar in the University, proceeded to Oxford with a State scholarship from the Government of Bengal. In February last the University was honoured by a visit from Professor D. S. Margoliouth, Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford, who directed the studies of Dr. Hossain in Oxford, and he spoke very highly of the work which Dr. Hossain had done. Two other students of the University

<sup>1</sup> Speech delivered by Professor G. H. Langley, Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University, held in August, 1929.

have gone to Europe for further study. Mr. Abdul Hakim, who was awarded the Lytton Muslim Scholarship in 1928, which was supplemented by the Sir Salimullah Overseas Scholarship given by the Nawab of Dacca is now in Cambridge reading for the Mathematical Tripos; and Miss Fazilatunnessa, who obtained the M.A. degree in Mathematics in the First Class, is in London undergoing a training in Education. Further, Mr. Satyendra Nath Roy, Lecturer in the Department of English, has recently been awarded the degree of Ph.D. by the University of London; and Mr. Kalipada Basu, Lecturer in the Department of Chemistry, has been awarded a research scholarship by the German Academy at Munich. This scholarship was open to all Indian students, and there were candidates from most of the Indian Universities as well as from Indians staying abroad. In addition to the above towards the end of the session three theses were submitted to the Academic Council for the degree of doctor: two from old students of the University and one from a member of the University staff. The opinions of the various Boards of Examiners have not yet been received, but the submission of the theses is an indication of the higher work that is being done.

Another sign of progress is the activities of the societies that have been formed by the various Departments of the University. There are now eight such societies, two of which—the Law and Mathematical Societies—came into being during the past session. Between forty and fifty meetings were arranged by these departmental societies during the session and many interesting and important papers were read and discussed.

The admissions to the various University courses also indicate progress. There has been a considerable increase in the total number of students admitted to the University this session and the number of students reading in courses for Honours and Master's degrees is greater than in any previous session. There has also been an increase in the number of women students admitted which is the highest yet reached in any session.

Further, certain members of the University staff have either published books or their work has in other ways received public recognition. Among the books published are the following :—

- (1) The Vakroktijivita, a treatise on Sanskrit Poetics, published in Calcutta Oriental Series, and (Kichaka-Vadha) a Sanskrit (Samaka) Kavya of the 10-11th Century A.D., published by the Dacca University by Dr. S. K. De, Head of the Department of Sanskrit and Bengali.
- (2) Les Chants Mystiques (de Kanha et de Saraha), published in Paris, by Dr. Md. Sahidullah of the Department of Sanskrit and Bengali.
- (3) A History of Mogul North-East Frontier Policy, by Mr. S. N. Bhattacharyya of the Department of History.

In addition to these, a book by Mr. P. K. Guha of the Department of English on "Tragic Relief" has been accepted for publication by the Oxford University Press, and Mr. Khirode Chandra Mukherjee of the Department of Philosophy has been awarded the Mouat Gold Medal for 1929 by the University of Calcutta for his research work on the "Instincts."

As in previous years also, a large number of papers have been published from the various departments in recognised journals, and particulars of these are given in the Annual Report. It may also be mentioned that Prof. S. N. Bose was invited to preside over the Physics and Mathematics Section of the Indian Science Congress held at Madras in January. His address is published in the Proceedings of the Congress.

But the University has not only made progress on its academic side. Very considerable progress has also been made in the development of corporate life among its students. In each of the three Halls there is a Students' Union which is controlled by a Council of students. The Provosts of the respective Halls are the Presidents of these Councils but there are student Vice-Presidents and they are entrusted with very large

*powers and responsibilities. The Common Rooms, the Literary and Debating Societies, Social Service Leagues, Dramatic Associations, and the Athletic Clubs, are placed under the control of the Councils and of the Athletic Committees which are also composed mainly of students. Thus the students of the Halls are taught that they possess a common life, which is interesting, enjoyable and valuable, and that the extent to which they derive advantage from this depends largely upon themselves. All the Provosts testify to the enthusiasm and zeal with which the students as a whole have entered into this common life. They write that all the usual activities have continued to evoke genuine sympathy and response from the students, and they testify to the growing power of organizing and of a sense of responsibility which is becoming manifest in their leaders. It is not possible to describe the activities of the students in their Halls in any detail, but one or two points may be mentioned that indicate the vigour, reality, and usefulness of these. The elections of the Vice-Presidents and members of the Students' Councils which take place annually cause very great excitement and are carried on almost with the keenness of political contests. All who have any experience of these elections know how much the students appreciate the privilege and the prestige which membership of their Councils confers. Then the Social Service Leagues are now carrying on excellent night schools, especially those of the Jagannath and Muslim Halls. Further the League of the Jagannath Hall has done much for the improvement of the village of Kazirbagh in which they have worked for several years, and the Leagues of the three Halls have now formed a Committee to elaborate a plan for the study of three other villages and for organizing social work in them. During the past year also the Social Service League of the Dacca Hall organized a Social Service Exhibition in connection with which a number of lectures on social subjects were delivered. The arrangements for this exhibition were made almost entirely by the students.*

A very striking illustration of the sense of corporate responsibility and loyalty was given by the students of the Dacca Hall on the occasion of the second annual gathering of the Dacca College and Dacca Hall Old Boys' Association. These meetings were held in March last under the presidency of Mr. Kumud Bandhu Bose, and they included a general meeting in the afternoon addressed by the President, a dramatic performance, and a dinner in the Hall quadrangle at which about 600 old boys and others were present. This very successful re-union could not have been organized and carried through but for the willing and unselfish co-operation of the present students of the Hall. They provided the entertainment in the afternoon and made arrangements for and served the dinner in the evening, doing this in the most spontaneous and joyous manner. It is evident that they are proud of the bond which unites them with students of past generations and value the traditions which they inherit.

Another sign of the growing sense of a common life is the breaking down of caste in the Halls. In the Muslim Hall there has always been a common table where the students dine together, and, since the foundation of the University they have arranged an annual dinner to which they have generously invited many Hindu and European guests. Until recently such a gathering was not possible in either of the Hindu Halls. Now, however, caste-distinction in such matters as the taking of food and the performing of worship in common has practically disappeared in the Hindu Halls, despite the fact that students of the depressed classes—the so-called untouchables—are admitted. During the past session dinners were arranged in both the Dacca and Jagannath Halls at which I had the privilege of being present. These were attended by practically all the students and members of the staff of the respective Halls and many Muhammadan guests were present.

But, as one of the Provosts points out, this growing corporate sense is best realized, not from specific concrete instances,

but by coming into contact with the normal life of the students and experiencing their changed outlook in respect to their relations to one another and to the Hall. Hall and Inter-Hall problems are considered and discussed by them with a zeal and earnestness that is very marked.

The development of a similar feeling for the University as a whole is more difficult, but something has been done in this direction. Naturally the genuine sense of membership of the University as distinct from the Hall will come later, for the fact that students are living together in the Halls promotes their sense of fellowship and common responsibility. Nevertheless a beginning has been made and I am convinced that in time loyalty to the University will be as genuine as loyalty to the Hall. For four sessions now there has been a University Students' Union, which has maintained a Common Room, arranged debates and literary meetings, held speech competitions, and published a University Journal. During the past session the Union extended its activities in two directions. It staged a drama in which actors from the three Halls took part and organized a speech competition open to competitors from all the colleges of Bengal and Assam. Both these functions elicited great enthusiasm and were carried through very successfully. Further, the record for the University Athletic Club was better last session than in previous sessions, the University team winning two trophies : the Ronaldhsay Shield for football and the Sen and Sen Cup for cricket. Undoubtedly Your Excellency's keen interest in this side of their activities has made an appeal to the students. The University Training Corps also has been a means of bringing together students from the different Halls. The two platoons which were formed in July last met regularly for parade during the session under the command of Captain Michael West with the assistance of Captain Groom, Adjutant of the Eastern Bengal Rifles. A very successful University Training Corps Camp was held in January and here members of the three Halls who belong to the

Corps lived and worked together for about a fortnight. Major Keene who inspected the Corps during Camp was very satisfied with the work done, and the thanks of the University are due to Captain West and Captain Groom for their effective service.

While indicating the striking advance in the development of corporate life among University students, I would like to point to two possible dangers. The first springs from the real enthusiasm which students possess for their Halls. A student's feeling for his Hall and his concern for its prestige sometimes obscures his sense of membership of the University. He finds it difficult to place the University before his Hall, and to see that the best interest of his Hall is only served when he seeks the welfare of the University as a whole. Secondly, students are at the present time sometimes inclined to look upon those in authority, either in the University or in the Hall, with a certain suspicion and distrust. Happily this is not frequently the case in Dacca where the prevailing feeling is one of trust and confidence. I would like to remind the students, however, that the University authorities, in creating and fostering the self-governing student institutions to which I have referred, have placed in them a large measure of trust. They have adopted this policy in the assurance that by granting to students freedom and in trusting them with responsibility, they are enabling them to develop their powers and to become useful members of society. Now having placed confidence in the students they look for confidence in return and expect that students will use the freedom they have been given for the best interests of the University. Nothing can help the University more than the enthusiasm, attachment, and loyalty of its students, and their faith, in what it is at present accomplishing and in its future.

Towards the end of last session, two statements on the financial position of the University were submitted to Your Excellency's Government by the Executive Council. The first shows the capital expenditure which, in the opinion of the

Council, should be incurred in the next two sessions, and the second, the recurring expenditure which is necessary for the next five years. The statements demonstrate that additional financial provision for the University is necessary, but they also indicate that the total amount required is not greater than that contemplated by the expert bodies of educationists who have, from time to time, advised your Excellency's Government on the problem of establishing a University in Dacca. We are confident that these statements will receive the careful and sympathetic consideration of Your Excellency and of your Government.

I wish also to mention that the University authorities have been very disappointed at the delay in putting into operation the scheme for establishing a Department of Botany and Bacteriology with a view to co-operating with the Department of Agriculture for the purpose of organizing higher education in Agriculture in Dacca. The importance of this scheme has been urged in the last three Convocation addresses, and it has been given administrative approval by your Government. The Executive Council sincerely hope that it will be possible for Government to finance the scheme in the next financial year.

The question of the control of Intermediate education in the Dacca area and of Secondary Education throughout the Province is still engaging the attention of educational authorities in Dacca. The views of the University on this question were expressed in my last address and these have been communicated to Government. I only wish here again to express the hope that the University will be taken into consultation when final decisions are arrived at by Government on these problems.

During the past session the Executive Council has been strengthened by the addition of two members elected under section 3 (i), (iv) and (v) of the Statutes by the Court. The Council are confident that the increase in the number of representatives of public opinion who possess an intimate knowledge of the problems with which the University is faced and



who are willing to give time to its administration will be to the benefit of the University, and they cordially welcome the additional members.

We regret to announce that during the past session the University has lost the services of three valuable members of the staff: Professor A. Siddiqi, the Head of the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies, has been obliged to take leave for two years and for this period has, with the permission of the University, accepted the Professorship of Arabic in the University of Allahabad. Mr. P. C. Mukherjee, a senior Lecturer in History, has reverted to Government service and is now a District Inspector of Schools; and Mr. Fakhruddin Ahmad, University Librarian and House Tutor of the Muslim Hall, has been appointed Registrar of the University of Aligarh. On behalf of the University I would like to express warm appreciation of the loyal service rendered by these gentlemen.

Professor Giuseppe Tucci of the University of Rome, who was residing in Dacca for more than two sessions, left at the end of April. During the session he delivered three public lectures on his journey to Leh and he continued to direct the studies of two research students. The association of this distinguished Italian scholar with the University has been a unique privilege and our sincere thanks are due to him. The University is also indebted to two other distinguished scholars who visited Dacca for the purpose of delivering public lectures: Sir P. C. Ray of Calcutta delivered two lectures at the end of January and the beginning of February, and Professor D. S. Margoliouth of Oxford lectured on the general characteristics of Arabic Historical Literature in February. Further a number of public lectures were again delivered by members of the staff.

Professor R. C. Majumdar, Head of the Department of History and Provost of the Jagannath Hall, and Dr. J. C. Sinha, Head of the Department of Economics and Politics, have now returned from leave abroad. While in Europe Professor Majumdar represented the University as a delegate at

the seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists held at Oxford, and Dr. Sinha was invited to lecture at Cambridge and Dundee. Since returning Dr. Sinha has been appointed by the Government of Bengal as a member of the Provincial Committee for the Government of India Banking Enquiry. We congratulate Dr. Sinha upon his appointment to this Committee but regret that it will be necessary for him to be away from the University for another prolonged period.

The Treasurer, Rai Sasanka Comar Ghose Bahadur, C.I.E., accepted re-appointment by the Chancellor to his office for another year from the 1st of January. On behalf of the University I wish again to thank him for his loyal and valued service and to congratulate him most warmly on the honour which he has received from His Majesty the King Emperor. The appreciation by Government of his public spirit and ability has given every member of the University great satisfaction.

I wish also to acknowledge a very generous donation of books to the University which has been received from Khan Bahadur Maulvi Chowdhuri Kazim-uddin Ahmad Siddiqui, Zemindar of Baliadi. When it was known that His Excellency the Viceroy intended to visit the University, the Khan Bahadur intimated that he wished to present 800 valuable books and manuscripts in Arabic, Persian, Urdu and Turkish to commemorate the occasion. He subsequently gave these to the University unconditionally. The thanks of the University are due to the Khan Bahadur for his valuable gift.

I have referred to some features of the past session which on looking back strike me as indicating progress. If I am right in this assumption I am convinced that this progress has been attained only by the loyal co-operation of the staff and students, as well as of the members of the Executive Council who have given to the University ungrudgingly so much of their time and thought.

In conclusion, on behalf of the University, I sincerely congratulate all those who have to-day received from the Chancellor their degrees. Some of you have now finished your course in the University and are entering upon duties and responsibilities in a wider sphere. I hope you will carry with you pleasant and precious memories of the time you have spent here, and that the training and experience you have received will help you to make your way successfully in life.

## II.—His Excellency The Chancellor's Address.<sup>1</sup>

### VICE-CHANCELLOR AND GENTLEMEN,

This is the third occasion on which it has been my privilege, as Chancellor, to preside over the annual Convocation of this University. I look forward to this opportunity of meeting the staff and the members of the University and of hearing from the Vice-Chancellor something of the life of the past year and of the progress which has been made. I also welcome the opportunity of handing the certificates to those students who have graduated and been awarded their degrees. I offer them my sincere congratulations on their success and I hope the time they have spent at this University has been beneficial and pleasant and that their recollection of their life here will keep alive their interest in the University.

I wish them success in their future life and trust that the knowledge they have gained at Dacca will enable them to render useful service to their country.

You were good enough, Vice-Chancellor, to refer to the encouragement I have been privileged to offer by way of a prize for proficiency in two sides of University life—study and recreation. I can bestow my congratulations upon the winner of the Chancellor's medal for an English Essay and the *Victor ludorum* with equal satisfaction. There is no reason why both the prizes should not be obtained by the same person. I hope some day this may happen and I shall await such an occasion with much interest.

The *Victor ludorum* is I believe the selection of the students, so I suppose there can be no doubt as to the title. I

<sup>1</sup> Delivered by His Excellency at the Dacca University Convocation on 23rd August, 1929.

would just ask him so to use his prowess in athletics as to be an example and encouragement to others.

I have read the essay which won the Medal, with interest and pleasure and I congratulate Mr. Monmotho Nath Ghose upon his success. The essay would appear to indicate considerable literary gifts, which I hope he will make good use of and that they will bring him a just reward.

I am glad to hear of the satisfactory records of the Athletic Club and their success both in Football and in Cricket competitions. Recreation must play an important part in the successful corporate life of a University.

It is your custom, Vice-Chancellor, on this occasion to give a record of the progress which has been made in connection with the various activities of this University, during the past year. We have listened to your account with interest and satisfaction. You refer to the success of old students which has been attained at the English Universities, and which must be a source of gratification and pride to their mother University. You also refer to the successful development of Societies which have been formed in connection with the various departments of the University and which are well supported and appreciated by the students. You also reminded us that Professor S. N. Bose had been honoured by being invited to preside over the Physics and Mathematics section of the Indian Science Congress at Madras—an honour which was well deserved and was equally well carried. Distinction for the staff of such a kind should be a matter of special satisfaction to all connected with this University.

I should like also at this stage to congratulate Dr. Sinha, who has been appointed a member of the important Provincial Committee for the Government of India Banking Enquiry; and I must again express our appreciation to Rai Sasanka Coomar Ghose Bahadur, for his continued valuable services as Treasurer of the University. I take this opportunity of offering him my sincere congratulations upon the well-earned honour which has lately been bestowed upon him.

I should also like to add my expressions of gratitude to Khan Bahadur Maulvi Chowdhuri Kazimuddin Ahmed Siddiqui, for his very handsome and valuable gift of books and manuscripts. I understand this gift was in the first instance proposed in honour of the Viceroy's visit: I feel sure that His Excellency Lord Irwin would like me to express his personal thanks for this generous consideration.

Vice-Chancellor, you naturally dwell at some length on the development of corporate life amongst the students, the progress in this direction appears to give you just cause for satisfaction. It is gratifying to note that corporate life at Dacca has made such rapid strides in the short history of the University and that many prejudices are melting away before common fellowship in the University as a whole.

All the Halls appear to live together harmoniously, in a spirit of fellowship and under a sense of common responsibility. I like to hear of this enthusiasm for the various Halls. This is as it should be; but I appreciate your fear lest through excessive enthusiasm for the Hall, the University might be forgotten or its interests relegated to second place. The success of individual Hall will not assure the success of the University as a whole. The University should be able to depend upon the support and the interest of all its members, if it is satisfactorily to perform the functions for which it exists. I note with interest that you have thought well to encourage the students to carry the responsibility of managing their own institutions. It is whilst at the University that a young man has the first real chance of appreciating what responsibility means. A chance is offered for the expression of character and personality and the development of self-control and judgment, which should enable him to discern with some accuracy the truth from plausible absurdity.

Such responsibility as is here imposed upon the student is a sure test, and the success and wisdom with which these institutions are conducted should indicate that capacity for organi-

sation and wise direction which will be found of value in any calling which those concerned may take up in later life. By reposing this responsibility in the students you express a confidence and trust which I hope will not prove to be misplaced, and that the confidence will be reciprocated.

The general progress of the University which you are able to report no doubt justifies your desire to expand your activities. For this purpose you have submitted to Government proposals which would involve a considerable increase in capital and recurring expenditure. Government is the source to which you must turn so long as the interest of individuals well-disposed towards the University has not been aroused. Perhaps, you will be able to demonstrate that the ordinary progress of the University demands additional financial provision and that the amount required is not greater than was contemplated by those who advised Government on the problem of establishing this University. The financial position of this Presidency must be known to all who depend upon Government assistance. Government appreciate their duty of providing to the fullest possible extent out of provincial revenues, for education of all kinds throughout this Presidency, but they are always faced with the fact that the revenues cannot expand under the present financial settlement to the extent that would justify them in meeting, in a way they wish, even the legitimate demands of progressive and satisfactory institutions.

This is Government's position at present. What is in store for us in the near future, I cannot predict, but in the revision of the financial position of the Provinces which I presume must be amongst the earliest and most important questions to be considered in connection with any new constitutional proposals, the position of Bengal must stand out as requiring immediate and drastic readjustment. Meanwhile you may be assured that the statements you have submitted are receiving careful and sympathetic examination.

I can understand your disappointment at the delay in the

establishment of a Department of Botany and Bacteriology. I can assure you that Government fully appreciate the importance of your proposals which would encourage students to turn their eyes towards the greatest and most important industry in India, and they are anxious to foster any scheme which through co-operation, with the Department, would lead to higher education in Agriculture. Administrative approval has already been given to the scheme and the desirability of finding some way of financing it will not be lost sight of by Government. The chance of success of such a Department, in view of the proximity of the University to the Government Farm, impresses me personally very much, and you may be assured of my personal interest in your proposals.

I feel this University enjoys many advantages.

Dacca is a teaching University, compactly concentrated in one area. You are strong in the opportunities of intimate social fellowship with close contact between teachers and students, and you enjoy opportunities close at hand of games and healthy physical activities. You are not hampered by the sentiment and vested interests that attach themselves to old institutions. You are free to mould your own future. Mould conditions aright and men will grow to fit them. It is not by accident or by chance but by set purpose after much deliberation and with high hopes, that Dacca University was created and fashioned in its present form. Those who created it were filled with the hope that a University, starting under such fair auspices would be able to make some distinctive contribution to the higher education of this Province. Such a contribution would have a double value. It would benefit the students who gather each year within your walls and in the end would have a powerful influence on the character of the whole educational system of Bengal and on the tone of its public life. The success of this University will be judged not by its academic achievement alone, but by the measure in which it is able to create new traditions of University life. A small residential University is a



comparatively new type in India. There are no precedents for you to follow, no examples to emulate. Whilst studying and examining the best methods and ideas which exist, you must endeavour to evolve new methods and create new ideas.

A University must endeavour to give an education which strengthens mind and character and creates in a student a clear consciousness of what he knows and what he does not know. It is well to remember that education is something which begins and never ends and that you are constantly in a stage of learning and that it takes a long time before you can regard yourself as fit to sit in the seat of judgment.

The University is making good progress. The encouragement you have received in the past must continue in the future. The progress in the University depends upon the efforts of all its members and I trust that all, especially the students, for whose benefit it primarily exists, will do their best to uphold its honour and safeguard its good name.

## ALONE TO ALONE :

## I.

I am in Thy debt, O Lord  
For this gift of life.  
But for this would I be aught  
Joined in this love strife?  
Help me now this debt to pay  
—The debt that am I :  
Shall I be ready to pay myself?  
—This my *heart's* one cry—  
List ! there comes reply :—  
“ When thy life for right is laid  
Then Thy debt is truly paid.”

## II.

What I call mine and I myself  
Are but trusts from thee.  
May I in joy what 's Thine restore  
At slightest sign to me !  
O Love reclaim Thy dirt-foul child,  
That wanders lost in darkness wild !

## III.

Love and hate, life and death—Thy twins  
By Thee's unfurl'd  
This glorious world  
By Thee reduced to loathsome ruins.  
Who Thou art and who I am—  
I wander in a maze.

*My heart in sweetness numb,  
My tongue in wonder dumb  
In silence-livened praise.  
My heart hears all Thy glory sing,  
Thou the same midst thought and thing.*

## IV.

Whenever, Love, I look for Thee  
In darkness hidest Thou,  
O, blow me out that I may live  
As Love for ever and now.

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJEE.

## CATEGORIES OF SOCIETAL SPECULATION IN EUR-AMERICA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ECONOMICS AND POLITICS.

*From Herder to Sorokin (1776-1928).*

(c) *East and West.*

1905. Discovery of the Kautilyan *Arthashastra* by **Shama-sastry** (Mysore) : invites the attention of the academic world to the secular, political and militaristic attainments of the ancient and medieval Hindus.<sup>1</sup>

1906. **Okakura**, Japanese. *Ideals of the East* : He preaches the unity of Asia on the strength of Buddhism. In his judgment, spiritually East is different from the West in outlook of life.

1907. **Huntington**, (1876- ), American. *Pulse of Asia. Civilisation and Climate* (1918). *World-Power and Evolution* (1919) : He offers a climatological interpretation of history. The problems of Turkey, Persia, Japan, etc., are discussed. Some of his postulates are as follows : "Mohammedanism favours immorality." "Persians are prone to lying." He has popularised such chauvinistic and unscientific assumptions in regard to the East unsupported by objective and historical data.

1908. **Formichi**, *Salus Populi* (welfare of the People) : Comparative study of Kamandaka, Hobbes and Machiavelli

<sup>1</sup> Ref. Meyer : Das altindische Buch von Welt und Staat : *Arthashastra*, Leipzig, 1926. Cf. Sarker. "German Translation of the Kautilyan *Arthashastra* in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, June, 1928.

is presented here. The common political psychology of the Hindu, English and Italian philosophers is his theme.<sup>1</sup>

1926. **Sylvain Levi**, *L' Inde et le Monde* (India and the world): Indian civilization like all other ancient civilizations was greatly a "collective work" of the entire world. He lays stress in India's intercourse with the peoples from the Mediterranean to the Pacific. Modern India should not attempt to isolate herself from the "movements of universal civilization. He considers it impossible for the Orient to borrow of the Occident its technical processes in order to imitate it, be its equal and finally to compete with it." The "white race must, to speak in the manner of Kipling, accept the burden in a virile manner." The book is altogether a chip of the traditional *Orientalisme*, i.e., study of things Oriental (ancient or modern) with the object of supporting colonialism and imperialism.

1927. **Katherine Mayo**, American. *Mother India*. Her thesis reads as follows:—"There are perhaps certain points on which—south, north, east and west—you can generalize about India. Still more: that you can generalize about the only matters in which we of the busy west will, to a man, see our own concern." And she ventures her "main generality" thus: "The British administration of India, be it good, bad or indifferent, has nothing whatever to do with the conditions above indicated. Inertia, helplessness, lack of initiative and originality,

<sup>1</sup> Ref. Sarkar, *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology* (1914) supplemented by *Hindu Achievements in Exact Science* (1918), *Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus* (1922), *Die Lebens-anschauung des Inders* (1923), establishes the fundamental identities or similarities in ideology and institutional life between the East and the West in pre-industrial epochs—during well-marked period.

See the bibliographies on allied works printed in these books. Cf. also Bottazzi: *Precursor di Niccolò Machiavelli in India ed in Grecia Kautilya, Thucydide* (Precursors of Machiavelli in India and Greece: Kautilya and Thucydide) 1. 1914. Hillebrandt: *Altindische Politik*, Gena, 1923; Sarkar: "Hindu Politics in Italian" and "Methods and Problem in Hindu Political Philosophy" in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta, 1925-27.

lack of staying power and of sustained loyalties, sterility of enthusiasm, weakness of life-vigor itself—all are traits that truly characterize the Indian not only of to-day, but of long-past history.”

She describes the vices and defects of the Indian people from the standpoint of the “white man’s burden” and commits the fallacies of all those previous anthropologists, culture-historians, orientalists, sociologists and philosophers who have developed the social philosophy of imperialism and colonialism during the epoch of Eur-American aggression in the East.

These fallacies have been classified and examined in *The Futurism of Young Asia* (1922) by the present author.

They fall generally within three classes: (1) they do not take the same *class* of facts, (2) they do not apply the same *method* of interpretation to the data of the Orient as to those of the Occident, and (3) they compare the old conditions of the Orient with the latest achievements of the Occident. A reform of comparative sociology on the lines indicated would lead to a revolution in our ideas about the relations between Asia and Eur-America. On the strength of positive achievements in ideology and in institutions (item by item) the leading historical forces, processes and stages are found to have been more or less uniform (no matter whether unilinear or multilinear, divergent or convergent) in the East and the West. Whatever has happened in the economic sphere in Eur-America during the past half a century is bound also to happen more or less on similar and even identical lines in Asia and of course in India during the next generation or so. (*Economic Development*, 1926.)

1928. **General Wali**, the Afghan Envoy, lectures at Cairo to the Egyptian Ministers and various other notables:

The general awakening in the whole Orient, the unanimous feeling of relationship and inter-alliance is not the outcome of mere chance. It is prevailing all over the Orient.

from mountains of Taurus to the cedars of the Lebanons, from the heights of the Pamir, to the plains of Afghanistan, to the wilderness of Arabia to Mesopotamia, Persia, India, China, Siberia and Japan.

The kingdoms of the Orient, in their new alliance and liberty, have no object but to get closer and nearer to the nations of Occident, in order that both sides might work and toil for the welfare, peace, and happiness of mankind.

It is with a real feeling of pain and regret that I discovered, that the members of the League of Nations are altogether disconcerted and undecided as to the best means and methods to employ for the consolidation of world-wide peace. Unfortunately they have not as yet achieved any part of their great human mission, and I might be so optimistic as to state that the presumptive Asiatic League of Nations will greatly help the European League of Nations, and will influence them in the accomplishment of the said task. I trust that before long, I shall make my voice heard from the said League of Asiatic Nations, proclaiming that this task must and will be accomplished.

I feel great satisfaction in saying that, as a result of the recent visits of H. M. the King of Afghanistan, we have concluded friendship and relationship with the Belgian Government, Polish Government and the Republic of Switzerland. We had already treaties of friendship with the British Government, the Soviet Government, Italian Government, French Republic, German Government, Turkish Republic and Persian Government.

In Africa, we had no friends, or connections, but I have been charged with the mission of making a treaty of friendship with the Egyptian Government, which is now finally concluded and signed.

Likewise, I hope that a similar treaty might afterwards be made with the Republic of the United States of America also. I might also mention a fact that will not be out of place,

namely, that one of the objects of our treaty with the Egyptian Government is nothing but to create and establish relation of friendship and co-operation between the nations of Africa and Asia.

My friends : No Oriental who respects and honours his fatherland could help rejoicing or could keep back the sentiment of innocent pride and satisfaction, once mention is made of Japan's progress, the "leap" of Turkey, the awakening and rising of Afghanistan, the resurrection of Persia, the development and wealth of Egypt and revolution of Syria.

Why should an Oriental rejoice and feel proud in this manner when the above narration is made ? Is it because the time is not far off when Oriental nations shall stand face to face with the nations of the Occident, and say to them, "Our intention is not to compete with you, but to copy all that is good in your civilization and leave anything that may not be useful, no doubt this being good to both countries.

It is neither for the one nor for the other. Such pleasure and rejoicing is because oriental nations have torn up the veils of ignorance and fanaticism, have stopped slaughtering each other, because they have taken full conception of their duties towards their homeland and towards the rest of humanity, because they have in them the sentiments of sympathetic and fraternal feelings towards their fellowmen, regardless of the differences of language and the variety of religion.

Afghanistan is trying to make connection of friendship with all the nations of the world so that as much as she can she will try to work for the peace and unity of the human race.

I have great pleasure and satisfaction in saying that our beloved King H. E. Amanullah Khan, all my countrymen and myself are not prejudiced in favour of or against any religion or sect. We have friendly relations and sentiments towards all nations and persons. We are friends to any power or nation that extends its hand of sincere friendship to us.



(d) *Mental and Moral Personality.*

Ideology : (i) objective approach to the realities of life, (ii) analysis of the current movements, (iii) revolution, freedom and democracy championed by philosophers.

1908. **Croce**, the "Neo-Hegelian" or "Neo-Idealist." *Philosophy of the Practical* (Ethical or Moral and Utilitarian or Economic) : Disinterested actions do not exist. Even the ascetic and the mystic are utilitarian. Even moral action is useful, *i. e.*, utilitarian or economic. But not all utilitarian actions are moral. There is no such thing as compulsion in the whole circle of willing and doing. The only laws that really exist are individual laws. It is not possible to conceive social and individual laws as distinct entities. Monarchs who believed themselves to be most powerful have realized at certain moments that the power did not at all reside in their persons or title but in a universal consensus of opinion, failing which their power vanished. The state is inseparably connected with the society. It is not a being but a mobile complex of varied relations between individuals. It is possible to limit this complex and to make it oppose other complexes. Every individual is different at every moment of his life ; he wills always in a new and different way, not comparable with the other modes of his or of others willing.

1915. **Dewey** (1859—) : *The Schools of To-morrow, Democracy and Education, German Philosophy and Politics, Reconstruction in Philosophy* (1920), *Human Nature and Conduct* (1922) : Neglect of specific situations is a defect in the current logic of social thought. Notions of fixed self or individual as well as organic conception of society lead to unrealities. He is an exponent of international humanism. Society is composed of diverse associations ; the state is one such and has but several minor functions to discharge. Relations between groups and persons constitute the most important items in political life. Freedom includes (a) efficiency in action, ability to carry out

plans, absence of cramping and thwarting obstacles, (b) capacity to vary plans to change the course of action, to experience novelties, (c) power of desire and choice to be factors in events. Natural science has rendered nature wholly fixed and mind wholly open and empty. "A world that is at times and points indeterminate enough to call out deliberation and to give play to choice to shape its future is a world in which will is free, not because it is inherently vacillating and unstable but because deliberation and choice are determining and stabilizing factors. Family life, property, legal forms, churches and schools, academies of art and science did not originate to serve conscious ends nor was their generation regulated by consciousness of principles of reason and right. Yet each institution has brought with its development demands, expectations, rules, standards. What authority have standards and ideals which have originated in this way? The authority is that of life. The choice is not between a moral authority outside custom and one within it. It is between adopting more or less intelligent and significant custom.

• His futuristic pragmatism is thus worded: "In an experimental philosophy of life the question of the past, of precedents, of origins is quite subordinate to prevision, to guidance and control amid future possibilities. Consequences rather than antecedents measure the worth of theories. Any scheme or project may have a fair hearing provided it promises amelioration in the future; and no theory or standard is so sacred that it may be accepted simply on the basis of past performance."

1918. **Hobhouse.** *The Metaphysical Theory of the State*: The will of any individual is his own and cannot be identical with the "general will." The state cannot be the embodiment of a unified general will, but is the summation of all sorts of individual impulses and accidents. Idealism "idealizes the real" and considers injustices to be parts of the "rational whole" and is therefore fatal to progress, is

the philosophy of the conservatives. Idealization of the state kills individuality and promotes authoritarianism.

1919. **Watson.** *The State in Peace and War*. He follows Kant, Green, rather than Hegel-Bosanquet, in his "idealism" and does not consider to be a necessity and believes in the possibility of a world-state. Undeveloped peoples are to be treated as wards; the state is the totality of institutions by which common weal is secured. Sovereignty is not absolute but relative. "In truth no institution is sovereign. The relation between church and state, for example, is not one of subordination but of co-ordination. His ideas are monistic although tempered with pluralism.<sup>1</sup>

1923. **Bertrand Russell:** *Prospects of Industrial Civilization* (1923) : *Principles of Social Reconstructions*, 1916 : (i) The abolition of private ownership of land and capital is a necessary step towards any world in which the nations are to live at peace with one another, (ii) what stands in the way of the freedom of the Asiatic peoples is not their lack of intelligence but only their lack of military prowess which makes the man easy prey to any lust for dominion. (iii) A world full of happiness is not beyond human power to create: the obstacles imposed by inanimate nature are not insuperable. The real obstacles lie in the heart of man, and the cure for these is a firm hope informed and fortified by thoughts.

Industrialism is practically inevitable and has to be accepted, but mechanistic conception of society requires to be opposed. Socialistic industry could be the servant, not the master of the community,—hence socialism is to be preferred to capitalism. From the point of view of any man not possessed of large capital there is an inherent reasonableness in socialism and it is likely to spread even in the U.S.A. Justice and freedom have different spheres: the sphere of justice is the external conditions of a good life, the sphere

<sup>1</sup> Ref. Roekow : *Contemporary Political Thought in England*, London, 1925.

of freedom is the personal pursuit of happiness. There must be as much self-government in industry as possible. The state must determine prices. It must also determine how much of the commodity is required. But the internal organization of an industry must not be interfered with by the state except on rare occasions.

He endorses the co-operative movement and syndicalism. Home-rule in industry is syndicalism. He argues for the abolition of land-owners and restriction of capitalists. But he does not propose equality of earnings. It is only by some such method that the free growth of the individual can be reconciled with the huge technical organization which have been rendered necessary by industrialism. The existence of strong organizations within the state, such as trade unions is not undesirable except from the point of view of the official who wishes to wield unlimited power or of the rival organizations such as federations of employers which would prefer a disorganized adversary. He would increase the powers of voluntary organizations. "Give every man a sphere of political activity small enough for his interest and his capacity." The state is to confine its functions to the maintenance of peace among rival interests. Liberation of creativeness ought to be the principle of reform both in politics and economics.

1924. **Gentile**, philosopher of Fascism, Lecture at Palermo on *Il fascismo nel governo della scuola* (Fascism in school administration), *Che Cosa e il fascismo* (What is Fascism?).

The true doctrine is that which does not express itself in typed words but in the actions and personalities of its exponents. What counts is the man and the line he will take. Fascism and Liberalism are not identical. There are two liberalisms, one British and the other German-Italian. British Liberalism looks for freedom in the individual and sets the individual against the state. **Mazzini** stood up against it, damning it with a force which has earned him immortality. The other Liberalism derides this alleged antagonism between individualism

and the state. "The art of government is the art of making the aims of each a common aim so that the maximum of liberty may exist side by side with the maximum not only of public orderliness but with the fullest acceptance of the sovereignty of law and the necessary agencies of law. The maximum of liberty and the maximum of state control can thus be co-existent and inter-dependent. It is with this second Liberalism that Fascism coincides. There is no liberty but the liberty inherent in the state. The state is an authorised body for the repression of arbitrary will and a guarantee to the society and individual that his safety is guarded by the mailed fist of law. Fascist state is an ethical and moral state.

1926. **Freyer**: *Der Staat* (the State) poses the problems of political existence in the *milieu* of faith, language, science, law, etc. The concepts of leader, statesman and politician are analyzed psychologically. Both the topics as well as the treatment are unconventional and there is a dynamic message of the most energistic character pervading these philosophical discussions. According to Freyer, those who want the state must know at least one thing, namely, that the "state will have to be willed" in order that "it may become." The state "does not happen" (i.e., is not born naturally) but "has to be made." Those works that strictly speaking require to be made or constructed "lay hold of the creative soul with a powerful force." They do not appeal to the activity of man "but to his strength for passion." They fulfil themselves and require only to be "carried forward until fruition" as in a womb by men who moreover have to suffer along with them. It is only the masculine will "that can furnish the realization to the acts. In the absence of this will the actions may fail to realize themselves. And the will must have to function "until the last moment;" because most of the battles are lost or won in the last half an hour. To have understood the necessity of an action implies thus to harness the will to it. To have understood the necessity of a state implies likewise "a call to the will of the

generation to its realization." It would but betray a weakness and insincerity of this appeal if one were to cry and wait piteously for the rise of the "great man." This sort of anxiety as to whether he comes or not is the political attitude of "old maids." The history of the spirit is not a web of pious wishes and unattainable means. The forces are always ready when the aims and objects are set forth. The aims and objects can be carried out by free will and surrounded as they are with dangers they require for their realization a generation of men that is conscious enough and strives for the discharge of the responsibility.

*(Concluded)*

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR.

## Reviews

**Women in Modern India**—Edited by Evelyn C. Gedge and Mithan Choksi, M.A. Price Rs. 4. Published by D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co., Hornby Road, Bombay.

The present work is a valuable publication, consisting of fifteen papers all written by representative women of India and covers a varied field of activity. The Foreword has been written by Srimati Sarojini Naidu and is characteristic of the idealism of the poetess. The prefatory notes by the two editors state the history of the origin of the work and give an account of the individual writers and the field of activity they are engaged in. The papers are "the fruits of the personal experience of each" of the writers and breathe lofty idealism and patriotic feelings, which make the papers an inspiring reading. The first paper deals with the status of women in India from Vedic times up to the present date and proves by facts and figures that women in India have all along held an honourable position both within and outside their homes and their cultural and educational needs were fully attended to. The past of Indian women was one of glory and brilliance and talented women, noted for their academic and administrative greatness, were not scarce. Although with the loss of political independence restrictions had to be imposed on the women-folk in mediaeval India, the fact should not be ignored that "intellectually and psychologically woman in India has never lost her honourable position of old. The attacks of external influences affected but her external position." The writer shows her insight into the psychological peculiarity of India by calling attention to the basic difference of women's movement from the sister-movement in Europe. "Man has not questioned the woman's right to enter any field of activity" in India when the time was ripe. This testimony of an educated daughter of India should disabuse the minds of foreign critics who have had no access to the inner life of Indian women and who judging by appearances have not hesitated to indulge in cheap attacks on Indian civilization and culture. In fact, the whole history of women's and modern renaissance shows that the pioneers of women's education were all men and unless there was any extremistic move, women have been actively encouraged by the men-folk. Srimati Kamala Devi has rightly emphasised this side of Indian character by drawing a distinction between

the attitude of the authors of Montague Reforms and the Indian leaders, who ungrudgingly gave suffrage to their women though there was no provision for the same in the Reforms. The suffragette leaders of England and all those who are not blinded by prejudice should take note of this innate charity of Indians, who have never failed to do justice to their women-folk when the occasion arose. The writer then takes a bird's eye-view of the various land-marks in the women's progressive movement and dilates on the achievements and future possibilities of Indian womanhood. The writer is an advocate of free-choice marriage and divorce, but this may be a doubtful blessing and the disruption of the home-life of Europe and America should serve as a warning post to the blind admirers of Western institutions. Indeed this is contrasted with the views expressed by the senior girl students of a Bombay College in a debate on the subject 'marriage by choice and marriage by arrangement.' They were severe on the women of western countries who "took life-long vows of marriage, met men they liked better than their husbands, waved good bye and went" (p. 71). It is a happy sign of the intellectual growth of our girls that they are adopting a critical attitude towards the western ideals and institutions. Indeed unthinking criticism and unreflecting admiration have to be abandoned as equally positively harmful. The lives of Pandita Ramabai and Mrs. Ramabai Ranade contain thought-provoking words and sentiments. Mrs. Nikambe utters a thoughtful sentence, which would have passed for a platitude if the speaker was not a woman, "public bodies however do not need educated women on their Committees as much as those are needed on the Committees of homes and families. It is in the Home that the prime duty of the mother and wife lies" (p. 24). It is indeed refreshing to note that all the papers bear the stamp of personal experience and original thought and the writers are all inspired by the highest ideals of patriotism to improve the status of women and of the country as a whole. There is not the faintest trace of rabid sex-differentiation and sex-antagonism and the Indian ideal of harmonious and well-ordered social organisation has been put in the forefront in all the various fields of women's activity. The basic ideal of women's movement in India has been very ably put forth by Lady Ramanbhai Nilmanth, B.A., in the following words "woman was made to be a help-mate to man, but she can only be so if she possesses true freedom and education." The remaining papers fully elucidate the rightful share that women are to fulfil in the various spheres of life, social, medical, educational, literary, law and æsthetic cultures. The various institutions that are catering for married women's education and maternity and child



welfare movement cannot be too highly praised. The ladies who are in charge of these various institutions are all inspired by the highest and purest motives to ameliorate the present condition of the women-folk and they have done their best to bring a ray of sun-shine into the desolate life of the poor and the destitute. The self-sacrifice and patriotism of these worthy daughters of South India will be a source of inspiration to the country as a whole and they will not fail to infuse courage into the drooping hearts of disappointed workers. The salvation of the country, which can boast of such highly intellectual daughters devoted to the service of the motherland, will be an event of the near future. Who can predict the wonderful future of a country whose men and women are inspired by such lofty idealism and have already achieved such distinctive success in the various fields of enterprise though the political, economic and educational conditions are not even a tithe of what they can be? We only wish that the activities of these daughters of Bombay should be followed by their sisters in Bengal and other provinces and this being done, Swaraj will only knock at the doors.

The intrinsic merits of the book cannot be overrated and the get-up, printing and finish are commensurate with its intrinsic worth. The typographical mistakes are few and far between and are really negligible. The book should be in the hands of every social and political worker of the country, both men and women and we only congratulate the enterprising firm of Messrs. D. B. Taraporewala Sons and Co. on the publication of such a valuable book, which the country needs most at the present day.

S. M.

### **The Fifteenth Annual Report (1927-28) of the Patna College Chanakya Society.**

The Society was established by late Captain Charles Russel to infuse a spirit of research and scientific enquiry among its members. The founder named the Society after Chanakya, the most eminent economist of ancient India, whose seat of activities was the historic city of Pataliputra. The object of the Society is to form an accurate idea of the economic position of the suffering masses in the province of Bihar and Orissa, by a number of systematic enquiries into the conditions of provincial industries, of representative families, of typical villages, and of various Co-operative Societies, and to ameliorate their condition if possible. Captain Charles Russel did not intend it to be merely a College

Society, but hoped that it would be a nucleus of a more elaborate and wider organization for advanced scientific study of the economic problems of India. The conception of the Society is grand indeed, but the Society has hardly done much to realise the dream of its founder. The Report admits that "The studies of the members had so far been fragmentary and detached." The number of ordinary members of the Society is 110. The average attendance of members per meeting in the year under report is 56. Two family budgets, two village surveys, three reports on the co-operative societies, and a number of industrial reports were read and discussed in the Society. A special feature of the year has been the formation of a permanent Scrutiny Committee which meets every four months, examines the record of attendance and work of every member, and advises removal of those members who do not take sustained interest in the work of the Society. We think that such a Committee is a necessity not only for the Patna College Chanakya Society but for every Society that holds its sittings in India. We notice that the Chanakya Society is doing some work and is fostering a habit of research and scientific enquiry among the students of the Patna College.

A. GUHA

**The Outlines of Vedanta based on Sri Sankara's Dakshina Moorthy Stotra**—By M. Srinivasa Rau, M.A. (Madras), M.D., C.M. and B.Sc. (Edinburgh), D.P.H. (Cambridge), printed at the Bangalore Press, Mysore Road, Bangalore City. Price Rs. 1-8.

The get-up of the book is good. The Dakshinamoorthy Stotra is a hymn of ten stanzas attributed to Sankara, in praise of the Lord who sits facing the south. In this hymn, Iswara in the form of Dakshinamoorthy, assumes the form of a Guru and instructs the pupils to turn to Him for guidance. The aim of the Vedanta, according to Sankara, is to establish the identity of the Jiva with Brahma. This universe looking like a city reflected in a mirror is really one's own self and is seen within the self, though appearing through illusion, as if it were outside one's self. Or the universe may be viewed like a plant in an undifferentiated form in the seed before creation and after creation, is full of varied and picturesque differentiation, due to the operation of Maya in the form of space, time and causality. We notice the power of Maya when people take his body or pranas or the sense-organs or the fickle buddhi for Atman. The author says: "Every object in the universe

partakes of the nature of Atman and Maya. We speak of an object as existing, as being known and as being loved. These three characters are dependent on the Existence, Consciousness and Bliss of Atman. The name and form which distinguish one object from another, are due to Maya. When Maya disappears, as in dreamless sleep, name and form also vanish and Atman alone of the nature of Existence, Consciousness and Bliss remains." As we are Brahman during dreamless sleep, Brahman or Moksha cannot be obtained. Our efforts should be directed to get rid of the notion of the reality of name and form which are superimposed on Atman. So long as desire for anything lasts, the idea of "I" remains, and there can be no realization of Moksha. The Jiva deluded by Maya takes him to be separate from Brahman and is drowned in the sorrows and pleasures of mundane existence. This is samsara. Samsara is simply attachment to what is not Atman. When Brahman is realized, the samsara disappears. But how to get rid of samsara? There are three prescribed means for obtaining release from samsara. The first is श्रवण which consists in listening to the teachings of a *guru*, on various difficult points. The next step is मनन which consists in thinking over the teachings of the *guru*. The final stage is निदिध्यान which consists in withdrawing the mind and senso-organs from the external objects and keeping the internal organ fixed in the contemplation of the nondual Brahman. Mere talking of Brahman or intellectual adherence to the Vedantic truths does not enable one to attain मोक्ष. He must undergo severe discipline in the shape of controlling the mind and getting rid of his attachment to external objects, especially to his bodies. This is, in short, the gist of the book. But the author at times cites European authorities to elucidate his stand-point. In most cases, these authorities, for instance Croce and Gentile, hardly help him in any way. Methods of the East and West are different. Thinkers of the East, generally speaking, take their stand upon the spiritual experiences of the seers, but thinkers of the West, generally speaking, take their stand upon their reasoning. We agree with Prof. James in thinking: "In all sad sincerity, I think we must conclude that the attempt to demonstrate by purely intellectual processes the truth of the deliverances of direct religious experience is absolutely hopeless." However we are of opinion that the author possesses the gift of presenting things in a clear way. His translation of the stotra is also accurate. He presents the Advaitic doctrine of the school of Sankara in an understandable manner.

**Excavation in Baluchistan, 1925.** By H. Hargreaveas, pp. iv + 90 + XXIV (plates). Price Rs. 9-14 or 16s. 3d. Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, no. 35.

This is the first instalment of the official report on the excavation work done by the Archæological Department in Sampur mound, Mastung and Sohr Damb, Nāl in Baluchistan. The finds of Harappa and Mahenjo-Daro of the Indus valley are suspected to be of as early antiquity as the earliest finds in the Mesopotamian valley and Baluchistan geographically placed between these two zones of culture. is now being explored so that some "connecting link between the two cultures" might be recovered. Amongst important relics of prehistoric coins, pottery and implements, have been found numerous skulls and bones which have been examined for the first time by Lt.-Col. R. B. Sewell and B. S. Guha, M.A., Ph.D., of the Zoological Survey of India whose work is as thorough as thought provoking and will remain for years an invaluable guide to students of Indian anthropology. The plates on the ceramics and pottery designs will be appreciated by all students of Indian art and decorative motifs.

K. N.

**The Story of Indian Music and its Instruments,** By Ethel Rosenthal, A.R.C.M. William Reeves, London, 1928.

The author is a keen student of Indian music and has devoted much of her time and energy towards explaining to occidental music lovers the special characteristics of the music, vocal as well as instrumental of India. The difficulties encountered by her were enormous yet her sympathy has triumphed over them and she has really succeeded in forging a fresh link to reinforce the chain which unites music-lovers of East and West. The informations contained in the book are not new to Indian readers, still she has rendered a service to the cause by publishing in a handy volume, notes on old masters like Tan-sen, Tyaga-raja and others (we only wish that she had given us more!). She has also earned the gratitude of Indian and European musicians alike by reprinting the pioneer study on the subject by that wonderful genius in the domain of Indology—Sir William Jones—whose "On the Musical Modes of the Hindus" written in 1784 may even to-day be read with profit.

Privileged to move in the aristocratic circle of the Native States, the author has managed to gather many *tit bits* of the modern musical world

of India that are highly interesting. The real spirit of a musician is in her; that is why she could see in our "Tyagaraja the Beethoven of Indian Music." Her sympathy lends her a rare insight and that is how she could write such performed lines:—"Probably Indian audiences are the most appreciative and emotional in the world. They are more concerned with the song than the singer and concentrate so completely on the work interpreted that they establish a wondrous bond of sympathy between themselves and the performer. In Indian music the art of the listener equals in importance the skill of the interpretative artist."

We recommend the book to all lovers of Indian music.

K. N.

## Our selves

### THE LATE MR. LALITKUMAR BANERJEE

It is with sincere grief that we refer to the sudden death on the 29th of November last of Mr. Lalitkumar Banerjee, M.A., Professor of English, Bangabasi College, Calcutta, who was a brilliant graduate of this University, a distinguished educationist for over forty years and a well-known and highly appreciated Bengali writer. He was held in high esteem for his sturdy independence and loved and respected alike by his colleagues and students. We offer our cordial sympathy to his only surviving son.

### DEBENDRANATH-HEMLATA GOLD MEDAL FOR 1929

Applications are invited from candidates for the competition for the Debendranath-Hemlata Gold Medal for the year 1929 which must reach the Controller of Examinations by the 4th of January, 1930.

The competition for the medal is limited to M.A., M.Sc., Ph.D., D.Sc., M.D., D.L., M.L., M.E., M.O. and M.S. of not more than three years' standing, and the standard of physical fitness shall be determined by the examination of the health of the competitors by the Students' Welfare Department of the Calcutta University as well as by application of such tests as may be decided upon by the Committee appointed for the purpose by the Syndicate.

## UNIVERSITY EXAMINATION DATES FOR THE YEAR, 1930

The next Matriculation Examination will be held on Thursday, the 6th March, 1930, and following days.

Applications and fees for the above Examination should reach the Office of the Controller of Examinations on or before Monday, the 6th of January, 1930.

The next I.A. and I.Sc. Examinations will be held on Monday, the 17th March, 1930, and following days.

Applications and fees for the above Examinations should reach the Office of the Controller of Examinations on or before Monday, the 13th January, 1930.

The next B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations will be held on Monday, the 7th April, 1930, and following days.

Applications and fees for the above Examinations should reach the Office of the Controller of Examinations on or before Tuesday, the 11th of February, 1930.

The Preliminary Examination in Law in January, 1930, will be held on Wednesday, the 8th of January, 1930, and following days.

Applications and fees for the above Examinations should reach the Office of the Controller of Examinations on or before Friday, the 6th December, 1929.

The Intermediate Examination in Law in January, 1930, will be held on Thursday, the 16th January, 1930, and following days.

Applications and fees for the above Examination should reach the Office of the Controller of Examinations on or before Friday, the 13th December, 1929.

Final Examination in Law in January, 1930, will be held on Wednesday, the 22nd January, 1930, and following days.

Applications and fees for the above Examination should reach the Office of the Controller of Examinations on or before Friday, the 20th December, 1929.

The L.T. and B.T. Examinations, 1930, will be held on Saturday, the 12th April, 1930, and following days.



## ANNUAL REPORT ON STUDENTS' WELFARE SCHEME FOR THE YEAR 1928.

We visited the following Colleges and Hostels during the year 1928 :—

1. C. M. S. College
2. Sanskrit „
3. Serampore „
4. Presidency „
5. Islamia „
6. Scottish Churches College Hostels
7. City College.

The number of students examined during the year was 2,054, thereby bringing up the total number of students examined so far to 16,920.

One of the special features of the report is the arrangement of our findings in triennial epochs with a view to reveal changes in the state of health and physical development of the student population of Bengal during the last nine years.

From a comparison of the triennial figures it seems that there has been an improvement in posture, chest measurement, also slightly in height, so far as physical development is concerned, while weight, ponderal index and strength of grips have remained stationary. As far as incidence of general defects is concerned there has been a rise in the number of students with fully corrected vision as well as in the number of students with normal teeth, skin and heart.

Another feature of the report is that it embodies the results of an enquiry into the systems of exercises and games in which College students regularly or irregularly participate. Roughly speaking about 32% of the students take exercise and 25·3% take part in organised games regularly in Calcutta. The figures for the suburban Colleges we have visited so far are slightly higher. As expected, football seems to be the most popular of the games and the use of dumb-bells the most prevalent system of exercise followed.

Last year we could not incorporate in our report the correlation table of height and weight. This table will be found on page 26 of this report. For convenience of reference we have converted in this report the tables of correlation of height and weight and chest measurements from the metric to English measures, with the hope that these tables will be more widely used than before.

*The practice of issuing defect cards to students and their guardians, drawing their attention to the disease or defect they or their wards were suffering from, was continued. 700 such defect cards were issued from the office during the year. The system of submitting separate reports to the Colleges was also continued during the year. For the guidance of College authorities cases of special defects were pointed out in these reports and general recommendations for treatment and exercise were also given. The After-Care Officer selected the more important cases out of these for following up. In all, the After-Care Officer followed up about a hundred cases during the year. The Honorary Secretary attended to the cases who applied to the department of their own accord for medical advice. Arrangements were made during the year to treat two cases of Tuberculosis, one of Goitre and two of Venereal diseases.*

Mr. Sudhabindu Biswas, M.Sc., of the Sun Optical Co., of 24-1, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, kindly offered to supply

spectacles for one year at present to students recommended by our Committee at the following rates :—

Class A—A discount of  $12\frac{1}{2}\%$  on the usual price of the firm will be allowed to all students recommended by our Committee.

Class B—36 pairs of spectacles will be supplied at a nominal price to cover cost of materials, making, etc., to students recommended by us as deserving this class of concession.

Class C—6 pairs of spectacles will be supplied absolutely free of cost on special recommendations by the Committee.

We take this opportunity to thank the Sun Optical Company for their kind offer, and also Dr. N. C. Mitter for conducting special examinations at concession rates on several occasions.

During the year the Committee considered a scheme for further expansion of the work of the Committee and recommended to the University :—

(1) That the scope of the Students' Welfare Committee be enlarged so as to include the activities of a Director of Physical Instruction.

(2) That the Medical Officers under the Students' Welfare Committee should conduct an obligatory medical examination of all students entering the University. The results of the examination should be forwarded to the Director of Physical Instruction, who shall arrange for suitable exercises.

(3) That suitable provision should be made by the University for a Gymnasium and Playgrounds, which shall be under the supervision of the Director of Physical Instruction.

(4) That provisions should be made for classes and demonstrations in hygiene and dietetics.

(5) That the Students' Welfare Committee should control Inter-Collegiate athletics and sports.

(6) That provisions should be made for the medical attendance of needy students by establishing a central clinic.

The Committee for the year was constituted as follows :—

The Vice-Chancellor,—*President.*

Sir Nilratan Sircar, Kt., M.A., M.D., LL.D., D.C.L.

Prof. Heramba Chandra Maitra, M.A.

Kedarnath Das, Esq., M.D.

Rai Bahadur U. N. Brahmachari, M.A., M.D., Ph.D.,  
F.A.S.B.

Prof. J. R. Banerjee, M.A., B.L.

Birajmohan Majumdar, Esq., M.A., B.L.

M. N. Banerjee, Esq., C.I.E., B.A., M.R.C.S.

Aga Mohd. Kazim Shirazi

Lt.-Col. F. A. F. Barnardo, C.I.E., C.B.E., M.D.  
F.R.C.S.E., I.M.S.

Rev. Father E. Roeland, S.J.

Rev. G. Ewan, M.A., Ph.D.

Dr. Girindrasekhar Bose, M.B., D.Sc.

Anathnath Chatterjee, Esq., M.B.B.S.,—*Hony. Secretary.*

During the year Mr. Haripada Maiti, M.A., was in charge of the office and supervised the preparation of the statistical data. He also acted as the Supervisor of the Rowing Club.

### Health Examination Section.

#### *General.*

A comparison of the figures of our last two reports will show that the results of our examinations have reached more or less stable figures and addition of further data is not likely to affect materially the averages and percentages already arrived at. This does not mean that there has been no change in the physical development or the state of health of the student community during the last nine years. Such changes, if present at all, would be very slight from year to year, and would very easily be swallowed up in the general averag-

es. To study these variations, therefore, we have this year calculated the averages in trienniums. The total number of cases in each triennium is between 5,000 and 6,000. The tables showing variations of the averages and percentages under the more important heads in the trienniums are given below :

TABLE No. 1 (Posture) Percentages.

No. of students.	Erect.	Stooping.	Triennium.
5,948	64.501	35.5	1926-1928
5,198	58.74	41.01	1923-1925
5,774	51.31	47.10	1920-1922

TABLE No. 2 (Height, Weight and Ponderal Index).

No. of students.	Height in cm.	Weight in kilo.	Ponderal Index.	Triennium.
5,948	166.21	51.25	2.231	1926-1928
5,198	167.88	50.64	2.212	1923-1925
5,774	164.1	50.98	2.24	1920-1922

TABLE No. 3 (Chest Measurement)

No. of students.	Inspiration cm.	Expiration cm.	Expansion. cm.	Triennium.
5,948	88.18	78.69	4.49	1926-1928
5,198	88.21	78.77	4.44	1923-1925
5,774	82.35	78.57	3.78	1920-1922

TABLE No. 4 (Grip Strength).

No. of students.	Right hand.	Left hand.	Years.
5,889	39.4	36.26	1926-28
5,107	39.44	36.49	1920-25

TABLE No. 5 (Vision).

Total number of students examined.	Total number of students with defective vision.	Uncorrected vision.	Percentages with partially corrected vision.	Fully corrected vision.	Triennium
5,948	1,995	56.9 %.	18.6 %.	24.5 %.	1926-1928
5,197	1,644	62.4 %.	17 %.	20.6 %.	1923-1925
5,775	1,953	60.8 %.	25.9 %.	13.1 %.	1923-1922

TABLE No. 6 (Teeth) Percentages.

No. of students.	Normal.	Caries.	Defective.	Triennium.
5,948	79.83	8.85	11.5	1926-1928
5,197	66.8	9.31	24.44	1923-25
5,775	61.6	6.7	31.1	1920-22

TABLE No. 7 (Gum) Percentages.

No. of students.	Pyorrhoea	Triennium.
5,948	1.44	1926-28
5,197	5.61	1923-25
5,775	4.5	1920-22

TABLE No. 8 (Skin) Percentages.

No. of students.	Normal.	Defective.	Triennium.
5,948	76.78	23.21	1926-1928
10,972	71.64	28.29	1920-25

TABLE No. 9 (General Defects) Percentages.

No. of students.	Heart.	Lungs.	Liver.	Spleen.	Tonsil.	Hydrocele.	Orchitis.	Hernia.	Triennium.
5,948	2.54	.64	1.78	2.13	10.66	.81	1.37	.36	1926-1928
5,197	4.75	.38	.43	1.05	16.48	.61	1.38	.07	1923-1925
5,775	5.20	.60	.9	3.0	7.77	1.1	1.0	.2	1920-1922

From Table No. 1—Posture, it is evident that there has been a progressive increase of students with erect posture from 51.31% in 1920-22 to 64.5% in 1926-28, and a corresponding decrease of students with stooping posture. From Table No. 2, it will be seen that there is a tendency to increase both in Height and Weight within the last nine years.

The figures for chest measurement given in Table No. 3 show an increase both in the size of the chest and for expansion. Grip strength, however, remains steady for the period. (Table No. 4.)

The total number of students suffering from defective vision has remained constant more or less and forms about 33% of the students examined. There has, however, been a fall in the number of students with uncorrected vision and the percentage of students with adequate glasses has steadily increased from 13% to 25%. The percentage of students with partially corrected vision has also fallen from 25% to 18% (Table No. 5).

The percentage of students suffering from caries however has risen from 6·7% to 8·8% ; but students suffering from slight dental troubles, has fallen from 31·1% to 11·5% (Table No. 6). Incidence of Pyorrhoea shows a similar decrease from 4·5% to 1·44% (Table No. 7). The percentage of students with defective skin also shows a slight reduction from 28% to 23% (Table No. 8).

In Table No. 9 we have shown the incidence of the major affections of the different systems. From an examination of the figures it will be seen that incidence of the circulatory diseases has fallen from 5·2% in 1920-22 to 2·5% in 1926-28. The number of students with diseases of the respiratory system has remained constant. The percentage of students with enlarged liver and spleen shows a progressive increase. This is partly due to the inclusion of a large number of Muffasil students examined during the triennium 1926-28. The percentage of the students suffering from enlarged Tonsils in the triennium 1926-28 is less than the figure for the second triennium 1923-25. The incidence of minor troubles has risen however and accounts for the increase in the number of total and general defectives in recent years.

#### *Calcutta Colleges.*

Last year we gave the average measurements of Bengali students as follows :—

Height	66·4 inches.
Weight	112·2 lbs.
Chest Inspiration	33·1 inches.
„ Expiration	31·4 inches.
„ Expansion	1·7 inches.
<i>Strength of grip :</i>	
Right hand	39·19 kilos.
Left „	36·33 „



Taking the above figures as norms of development for College students in Bengal, we have determined (a) the averages and (b) the percentages of students who are above or below these figures in the different Colleges examined during the year 1928 :

## COLLEGES.

TABLE No. 10.

Height—General average for all students—165·99.

Name of the College.	Average of the College.	Percentage above General Average.	Percentage below General Average.
Presidency College	166·92 cm.	54·49 %.	27·78 %.
City College ...	166·21 „	32·6%.	48·4%.
Scottish Churches College.	166·45 „	51·63%.	30·46%.
Islamia College ...	164·50 „	38·16%.	42·01%.

TABLE No. 11.

Weight—General average for all students—50·96.

Name of the College.	Average of the College.	Percentage above General Average.	Percentage below General Average.
Presidency College ...	53·19 kg.	44·96%.	40·87%.
City College ...	51·30 kg.	44·94%.	40·7%.
Scottish Churches College.	51·38 kg.	45·11%.	37·21%.
Islamia College ...	49·34 kg.	26·92%.	59·43%.

TABLE No. 12.

Chest Expansion—General average for all students—4·34.

Name of the College.	Average of the College.	Percentage above General Average.	Percentage below General Average.
Presidency College ...	4·86 cm.	58·87%.	28·25%.
City College ...	5·06 „	17·4%.	63·7%.
Scottish Churches College.	4·67 „	46·74%.	40·41%.
Islamia College ...	4·26 „	42·603%.	37·57%.

These figures seem to indicate that if we leave out the Islamia College, the differences noted between the different Colleges in Calcutta are not sufficiently large to be significant as far as height and weight are concerned. The figures for chest expansion show a wide variability; the percentage of students who are above the average in the City College being only 17·4 % as compared with 58·87 % in the Presidency College and 46·74 % in the Scottish Churches College. The figures for the Islamia College indicate that the Muhammadan student is of a slighter build and less robust than his fellow students.

*Calcutta Colleges and Colleges near Calcutta.*

We have during the year been able to visit most of the Colleges within easy reach of Calcutta, viz., Narasinha Dutt College, Howrah, Serampore College, Hooghly College and Burdwan Raj College, and the combined number of students examined in these Colleges is nearly the same as in the Presidency College. The results of the comparison between the Presidency and the Suburban Colleges are given in the following tables :—

TABLE No. 13.

	Presidency College.	Combined Colleges.	Average for all students.
No. of students . . .	745	788	16,920
Height in cms. . .	166·92	165·62	165·95
Weight in kilos. . .	53·19	50·05	50·9
Chest Inspiration in cms.	84·37	82·77	82·8
Chest Expansion in cms.	4·9	4·39	4·18
Grip (right) in kilos. . .	40·98	40·84	39·19
Grip (left) in kilos. . .	37·79	37·75	36·33

The above figures indicate that for all practical purposes the physical development of students of Colleges within easy reach of Calcutta is of the same standard as that of the average Calcutta student.

TABLE No. 14.

## Percentages.

	Presidency College.	Combined Colleges.	Average for all students.
Total defectives ...	77·4	74·21	70·97
General defectives ...	46·80	43·22	34·7
Defects of vision ...	38·77	26·08	32·64
Correction :			
Uncorrected ...	42·66	74·62	62·91
Partially corrected...	19·03	14·42	19·12
Fully corrected ...	38·40	10·9	17·52
Teeth :			
Caries ...	11·14	8·59	8·1
Gum :			
Pyorrhoea ...	1·87	1·69	4·09

It is evident from the above table that the incidence of General Defectives and Total Defectives amongst the Muffasil students is nearly the same as for the Calcutta students. They however seem to suffer less from Pyorrhoea and have better vision. But the percentage of students having uncorrected vision is very large. The percentage of students with proper glasses is also low. On analysing the incidence of General Defects under different heads (see Table No. 15) we find that the number of students in the Muffasil Colleges suffering from enlarged spleen and liver is greater than that in Calcutta, and that the Muffasil students suffer less from respiratory and digestive troubles than their Calcutta friends.

Contrary to expectations, the percentage of students affected with throat troubles is the same in both the groups :—

TABLE No. 15 (Percentages).

Item.	Presidency College.	Combined Colleges.	Average for all students.
Circulatory system	1·34	3·9	4·12
Respiratory systems	·40	·26	·56
Liver	·40	1·82	1·07
Spleen	·40	3·64	2·1
Bad Throat	13·69	18·8	18·91
Digestive Troubles	28·95	15·36	...

*Effect of Exercise.*

To study the effect of exercise on the general growth and health of the College students, we arranged for a thorough enquiry last year in connection with our regular examination work as regards the form of exercise taken by the students. The records of those who took exercise regularly have been separately analysed. The averages and percentages obtained have been compared with (a) the averages and percentages for the students of the same College who do not take exercise, and (b) the general averages and percentages for all students.

TABLE No. 16.

E = Exercisers. R = The Rest.

	Scottish Churches College Hostels.		Presidency College.		City College.		Islamia College.		Total.	
	E.	R.	E.	R.	E.	R.	E.	R.	E.	R.
Height	6' 1 cm.	167'45 cm.	167'45 cm.	167'81 cm.	166'01 cm.	166'30 cm.	163'95 cm.	164'84 cm.	165'79 cm.	6'38 cm.
Weight	52'57 k.	50'32 k.	55'54 k.	52'74 k.	51'87 k.	51'02 k.	49'58 k.	49'09 k.	52'54 k.	51'45 k.
Chest Ex.	4'73 cm.	4'80 cm.	5'06 cm.	4'82 cm.	5'08 cm.	5'04 cm.	4'07 cm.	4'33 cm.	4'78 cm.	4'76 cm.
Grip (right)	41'14 k.	38'2 k.	42'64 k.	40'73 k.	41'73 k.	37'38 k.	38'38 k.	38'60 k.	41'11 k.	39'81 k.
Grip (left)	38'05 k.	35'61 k.	39'25 k.	37'54 k.	37'93 k.	38'55 k.	35'0 k.	35'19 k.	37'67 k.	36'70 k.

If we compare the different College students we find that in the Presidency College Regular Exercisers show a definite superiority over the rest in all the items, whereas in the Islamia College it seems the other way. Contrary to expectations the average for chest expansion is practically the same for both the groups—exercisers and the rest.

So far as incidence of disease is concerned, the Regular Exercisers suffer less than the rest as will be apparent from the following table. But it may be noted here that even in the regular exercisers digestive troubles are fairly common, the percentage being as high as 26%.

TABLE No. 17.

Incidence of disease in Regular Exercisers group and the Rest (Percentages).

Disease.	E	R
Heart	1·4	2·4
Lungs	·2	·8
Bad Throat	7·7	12·4
Digestive troubles	26·8	38·1
Hernia	0	·3
Hydrocele	·4	1·1
Varicocele	0	·4

### *Physical Education.*

We pointed out in our last report that the University had recommended that some form of physical exercise or participation in organised games should be made compulsory for all College students of the first-year class at least. To encourage the Colleges to fit up suitable gymnasia and build playgrounds the University had also proposed to give financial aid

to Colleges applying for the same. The following statement shows the distribution of money grants by the University of Calcutta for physical education in non-Government Colleges affiliated to the University during the triennium 1926-28 :—

Serial No.	Name of College.	Amount of grant in			Purpose for which the grant was recommended.
		1926-27	1927-28	1928-29	
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
1.	Ananda Mohan College, Mymensingh.	6,000	3,000	1,400	Gymnasium
2.	Bagerhat College ...	1,000	1,000	1,000	Do.
3.	Brojomohan College, Barisal	nil	nil	1,500	Do.
4.	Carmichael College, Rungpur	2,000	nil	nil	Do.
5.	Danlatpur Hindu Academy ...	nil	2,500	2,500	Do.
6.	Feni College ..	3,000	3,000	3,000	Gymnasium and playground.
7.	Prabhat Kumar College, Contai.	1,000	1,500	1,000	Do.
8.	Rajendra College, Faridpur ...	4,000	500	nil	Do.
9.	Ripon College, Calcutta ...	1,500	1,000	nil	Do.
10.	Scottish Churches College, Calcutta.	nil	1,000	1,500	Athletics
11.	Serampore College ...	nil	nil	2,000	Gymnasium
12.	Victoria College, Comilla ...	1,000	2,500	2,500	Gymnasium and playground.
13.	Wesleyan College, Bankura ...	1,000	1,000	1,500	Gymnasium
	Total ...	20,500	17,000	17,900	

To form an idea of the number of students who take part in organised games or take exercise regularly and to estimate the popularity of different games and systems of exercise we instituted a specific enquiry last year, as a part of our regular routine work. Of the total number of students 31·32% take exercise and 25·3% take part in organised games regularly in Calcutta. In the Colleges within easy reach of Calcutta, the percentages rise to 41% and 34·8% respectively. The percentage of students who take exercise irregularly are 28·4% for the Calcutta Colleges and 20·2% for the Colleges near Calcutta. In the following table we have shown the popularity of the different games among those who take part in games regularly among all College students:

			% of those who are regular in games.
Football	...	...	76·79
Cricket	...	...	31·8
Tennis	...	...	25·21
Hockey	...	...	24·64
Volley-ball	...	...	22·92
Basket-ball	...	...	17·76
Badminton	...	...	11·17

Frequency of the different systems of exercise among those who take regular exercise is shown below :—

1. Dumb-bells	...	...	22·37%
2. Parallel Bar, Rings, &c.	...	...	15·31%
3. Bar-bell & weight-lifting	...	...	14·21%
4. Walking	...	...	11·65%
5. Dand	...	...	10·25%
6. Ground exercises	...	...	10·10%
7. Freehand exercises	...	...	7·89%

(including Naidu's system 0·93)



8.	Baithak			6.42%
9.	Swimming	...	...	5.0%
10.	Indian Clubs	...	...	4.2%
11.	Chest Expander	...	...	2.83%
12.	Developer	...	...	1.68%
13.	Riding	}	...	.93%
	Wrestling			
	Running			
14.	Skiping	}	...	.46%
	Boxing			
	Lathi			

We have already pointed out the effect of regular exercise on physical growth and health. We hope that the above tables will prove useful to the authorities of the different Colleges in organising games and fitting up gymnasia. In this connection we may state that the University has recently appointed a sub-committee to consider different schemes of physical education and to recommend one which may be adopted by the University.

### Rowing Club Section.

During the year there were nine jolly-boats, two Tub-fours and two clinkers under the direct management of the Committee. Three jolly-boats were placed at the disposal of private Colleges. The number of members on the 31st December, 1928, was 51 and four boats went out daily on the average. Mr. B. N. Mukherjee, a student of the Calcutta Medical College, acted as the Assistant Supervisor during the year.

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## MATHEMATICS AND EDUCATION

### I.—SCIENCE TEACHING EFFICIENCY

Some weeks ago an extract from a lecture by Mr. Stanley Baldwin was printed in these columns. It was mainly an apology for the seeming failure of present-day politicians as contrasted with the triumphing of scientists. What seemed to alarm Mr. Baldwin most, however, was not any alleged failure of him or his fellows, but the possibility that material forces had been revealed by Science, to deal wisely with which ordinary human nature was unprepared. This may be primarily a question of morals, and as such have an educational significance which will be seen to have some connection with what we consider here. But what is really relevant to our purpose is the lament Mr. Baldwin makes over another educational problem, *viz.*, that the popular mind lags deplorably behind discovery. To-day, he says, the mental food of the people as provided by scientists is largely "a debris of discredited theories;" there is no finality in scientists' discoveries.

"*Finished ?*"—Whether such a finality be desirable or not, the fact of change imposes on us an educational duty often neglected : we should ever be scrutinising our curricula and our educational practice with this intellectual need which Mr. Baldwin emphasised in view. Do we really do all that is

possible to lessen the lag to which he points as specially unfortunate ; or do we even make it our aim to keep the mind alert to the real nature of knowledge ? Do we not too readily rest content with the idea that we can turn out from school and college " finished " scholars—stamped with the examination seal ?

A certain type of conservative will warn us against this over-ambition of trying to be quite up to date. The greatest need in education, he will say, is to make things definite and clear for students—look at the way in which we are threatened by the loose and crude thinking done by our students ! One might stop to argue that crude thinking may be a reaction from overmuch schooling : and, in truth, the decisive consideration here is more the kind of action and reaction between student and teacher than what is taught. It is very easy to attempt too much in these days of exacting demands ; suffice it to point out the great loss and danger of not attempting enough. To think of the deadening effect of the very influential textbooks which give not even a peep beyond the confines of the syllabus makes one shudder. This tendency to be self-contained in education is not restricted to India. In *Nature* recently an unrealised aim of scientific education was set forth as " some preparation of the human mind for the new world which science is creating : not so much a concrete knowledge of science as a scientific outlook, a scientific habit of thought." We do not often hear teachers claim that they have come anywhere near attaining this goal.

Rather more than a year ago a series of articles entitled " Mathematics and Life " was published in *The Times of India*. These were directed towards clearing away some of the lumber in the mathematics curriculum imposed on the First-year student in the Bombay University, and towards substituting what would be of positive quickening value to the students in their later studies. The time has now come to supplement these articles with the results of a year of further enquiry and

of experiment. The articles have been reprinted as a pamphlet, and so it may suffice here merely to allude to the leading ideas worked out in them.

### *Misplaced Specialisation.*

There was little need to labour the point that what is now being taught as mathematics in the First-year college classes is especially obnoxious to the great majority of students. If there were any grim old time educationist who regards with indifference the existence of this distaste, he could not but allow that the actual result of this effort to discipline students is simply evasion—students, and sometimes teachers, come to regard the purpose of study as achieved, if the students learn by heart enough to enable them to score pass-marks. The keen mathematical enthusiast could also object that the mathematics taught gives quite a wrong idea of the nature of modern mathematics; it is largely what was devised for study by mature men in bygone ages, and it would be well if it were reserved in these days too for specialists who really could appreciate it. Probably the majority of reformers favour making mathematics optional with subjects of quite another calibre and genius, and this is the solution that has been adopted with more or less completeness in other Indian universities. In Bombay this relief by running away from the difficulty has been rejected for obvious reasons.

What the articles of a year ago sought to do was to outline a scheme for dealing with the difficulty in a more positive way than had hitherto been attempted. Without giving up the disciplinary value of a course of mathematics, it was held that it could be so altered as to be brought within the comprehension of F. Y. students, and at the same time could be made to serve an end of real value as a preparation for a freer and more effective study of some one of many branches of learning. With later studies the present course signally fails to make contact; instead of awaking students to the possibilities of help from

mathematical devices, it fills them with a nausea or a fear, or even a not very creditable contempt, at the suggestion of mathematics. The result has been that they have been left unnecessarily handicapped should they encounter even trifling difficulties of a mathematical nature, and can only gaze with unappreciative admiration at a mathematical short cut through perplexities.

### *Links with Life.*

The immediate purpose of the articles was to appeal to non-specialists in mathematics, who may have found it useful, or who may have mourned their lack of its aid. These can give unique help in elucidating the situations in which mathematical aid may be found in practice to avail most. That appeal for criticism and help met with a very generous response. Both educationists and non-educationists have freely given guidance in difficulties, and provided interesting material for study and apparatus for the classroom. It is still necessary to make this special appeal; for the solution of this problem is not in the first instance a matter for mathematical specialists—their idea of what is useful and feasible in practice inevitably differs from that of people who are engaged in the work-a-day world, or in other special lines of investigation. However, the time *has* come to change the emphasis.

The experience of the past year has revealed the practicability of the proposal for the students, and we can now think more definitely of how the scheme may be fitted in with the rest of their activities, present and future. The search for what is most desirable to teach must indeed be continued actively and prominently for several years yet, before a result is achieved that can be regarded with full satisfaction: and it is hoped that there will be increasing co-operation in this search. But alongside this can now proceed a more definite investigation of the educational implications of the project, and so we make our main theme now “Mathematics and Education.”

## II.—MATHEMATICAL AUTHORITY.

“The only Indian University I know in which a reasonably good course in Applied Mathematics is taught is Madras.” This from a Government official who was once an educationist and who is now doing outstanding work in a department where he requires the help of many science graduates, is rather startling. It is quite a typical comment on what we are advocating here, but strictly such an opinion is irrelevant to our proposal ; for we are not to discuss the training of the mathematician. (Nor, it may be added, are we concerned immediately with any of the many specialists who are very keen to see mathematics applied more freely to their own particular subject at the higher stages.) What we well might ask in passing is how the Bombay University, if the above opinion cannot be refuted, loses its initial advantage ; for in it in the first year is taught the mathematics which in most other Indian Universities, including Madras, is taught in the second.

But the main purpose in making the quotation is simply to encourage a friendly rebellion by non-mathematicians against the way in which the mathematical educationist exclusively has determined what he shall teach within the time at his disposal. A scientist who a few years ago was noted for his vigorous work in the Bombay University, writes of his having provoked a horror (which made even him, he says, retire into his shell!) by suggesting that mathematics should be taught as a tool. This was perhaps an unfortunate phrase (though it is used as a catch-word in the first of the “Mathematics and Life” articles) to employ as comprehending the essential idea ; for genuine mathematics would have more effect on the sciences than a dead instrument : it may serve the sciences, but it has insight that compares with theirs ; and it will not be blinded.



*Rigour Again!*

But the suggestion seems to have carried another import: for the horror referred to was "at the idea of using a result without knowing how to prove it." Perry has poured scorn on this attitude by asking if a boy should not be allowed to wear a watch before he knows how to make one. This, however, is going to the opposite extreme; and in this matter many seem to find no position tenable unless it is extreme. It is unlikely, however, that mathematical teachers will ever be capable, however else they err, of becoming mere exhibitors in a museum of special mathematical devices. And it may suffice here simply to counter a tendency to think that theirs is the century-old ideal of a senior Wrangler,—merely to unfold the "logical accuracy which is the soul of mathematics, and to elicit and cultivate which is the great benefit such studies confer as a branch of education." It was Hilbert, the distinguished author of "Foundations of Geometry" with its famed five groups of axioms, who remarked: "My plan in teaching is to work with as many 'axioms' as my pupils will accept." After all, the main purpose must be to open out the possibility of a mathematical habit of thought by presenting such mathematical ideas as the pupils can assimilate: and this involves more than mere logic.

There are other general considerations, chief of these being the need for reckoning with the Time Spirit. There is evidence that this is being recognised in England, for a lengthy review of Spengler's philosophy of history, *The Decline of the West*, was published recently in the *Mathematical Gazette*. The leading thought therein was that the Greeks were revolted by ideas of the infinite and the infinitesimal, which are fundamental in modern mathematics; they would have been stopped by the paradox in "greater than the greatest" or "less than the least": for them "a line of indefinite length" was a contradiction in terms. What a difference it would have made to those

of us old enough and hardy enough to have been brought up on Euclid's treatment of proportion in his Book V, had we been told that the Greek number-idea was confined to the positive integers!

*Pythagoras or Descartes?*

The reviewer in the *Gazette* asks trenchantly: "Is it not time for the farce to be given up? Let Euclid be left to boys in the Classical Sixth, who should study Greek mathematics along with Greek philosophy, Greek politics and Greek art. The ordinary school course in geometry should be designed with the definite object of providing an introduction to the mathematics of our own culture. Loci, limits, and variable, instead of being admitted on sufferance, should be made prominent, the whole thing centring round graph work and leading on to the Calculus. Such facts about lengths, angles, triangles and circles as must be known for everyday purposes or for use in later work *can be taught rapidly*, starting from an experimental standpoint, with logical connections appearing gradually and naturally; but let us not exalt this work into a solemn ritual, a religious game to be played under strict arbitrary rules."

That might suffice; but the truth and the vigour of this writing demand that it be rescued from obscurity. "Let us get on," the reviewer cries, "to the real business of teaching the mathematics of our own Western culture. It is astonishing to find how many boys are under the impression that Geometry, if not Mathematics as a whole, has practically stood still since the time of Euclid. Why are we content that the majority should leave school in complete ignorance of the mathematics that is theirs, stuffed instead with a hotch-potch, some of which is, and must be, dull and dead to their Western minds? Is it not a fact that the modern boy is interested in loci, graph-work, rates of change, infinity, but hopelessly bored by triangles and Euclidean constructions? Any form will vote solid for

*Dynamics against Statics, for the parabola of the cricket ball against that of the suspension bridge, for a cycloid against a conic section as such. And that is all as it should be and must be....*

*Misdirected Effort.*

“The educated man of the future will have to know about mathematics, not because he is going to be an engineer or an actuary, but because the subject represents one aspect of human thought and has to be studied *in conjunction with* art, religion, philosophy. This is what many mathematicians do not realise.”

It is directly to our purpose to point out one evidence of misdirected effort in the training of our mathematicians. At the beginning of his standard four-volume treatise on “Principles of Geometry” Dr. H. F. Baker says, “It is believed that the system here suggested is logically complete, and does not require that long preliminary study of elementary geometry to which at present so much time is devoted” in, for example, our Bombay First Year classes. If the training of the mathematical student is wasteful, what must be the case with the non-mathematician who is subjected to the same course!

This formalism and this traditionalism are generalities. In subsequent articles we shall turn to some specific applications of elementary mathematical ideas to the Arts and Sciences, and then deal briefly with the actual teaching of these ideas.<sup>1</sup>

JOHN MACLEAN.

## INDO-PERSIAN ARCHITECTURE

'Frequent allusions to the inhabitants of the western zone of the Iran plateau are found in Assyrian documents from about the 8th century B. C. They belonged to the Aryan family and were closely related to the Indo-Aryan. The kinship existing between the two branches was unsuspected by antiquity, and is clear beyond doubt to modern science which bases its conclusions on the striking resemblance observable in the languages, the religious ideas, and even the original rites, and physical characteristics of the Indo-Aryans and Persians.'

These linguistic, religious and physical resemblances seem to have induced several scholars and historians including archæologists to seek further resemblance between the Persian and the Indian architecture. The procedure of investigation appears to have been based on a larger assumption that in all matters of refinement and culture the West must have been the creditors and the East the borrowers. The possibility of indigenous growth was never taken into consideration except in case of the Veda.

The admission made in this connection by Kennedy is free and frank. "The pre-historic age in India is distinguished, not by periods of stone and copper and bronze, but by the spread of the Aryans, the consolidation of societies, and the elaboration of a cult. With the sixth and fifth centuries B. C. we reach the commencement of personal and dated history, and a great creative era—the age of Mahāvīra and of Buddha. But the material preceded the spiritual. The first stir of that new life arose from the contact with Western civilization; the breath of inspiration came from Babylon, and then from Persia. When the Greeks arrived, they found great and civilized peoples whose learning and whose capitals aroused their admiration. The records of that civilization were written on palm-leaves and on

bark, or exhibited in brick and wood—things perishable, which have perished ; and we are perforce reduced to search painfully among the flotsam and jetsam of time for any vestiges of the grandeur of antiquity.”

Then follows an interesting note : “ The progress of the Indians was necessarily of the slowest, for Persia could supply them with scarcely any models, and they had to discover everything themselves.”<sup>1</sup>

“ Of the decoration of the earlier Buddhist monasteries we know practically nothing, but the decoration of the later Vihara caves, of Nalanda, and of the Sangharamas of Gandhara was Persian, and that not so much after the fashion of the Sassanians as of the Achaemenids. There is the same lavish employment of colour, the use of enamelled or metallic tiles upon the roof, the gilded rafters and elaborately painted ceilings, the rich capitals of the pillars, the application of inlaying. The two schemes of decoration are substantially the same.”<sup>2</sup>

“ To the general question, then, concerning the direct influence of Babylon on Indian art, we must answer ‘ no.’ ” But Kennedy thinks that “ a direct influence may be traced in one particular class of buildings and one particular locality—the Buddhist Vihara caves of Western India.....The four or five-storied Viharas ...undoubtedly recall the impression of a Babylonian Zigurat or temple, but are hollow throughout and built of wood.” In a note Kennedy adds ; “ Fergusson has attempted<sup>3</sup> to connect certain Burmese and Sinhalese dagobas with the Babylonian type, and has suggested that connecting links once existed in brick and plaster in the valley of the Ganges. But there are two objections : (1) Had massive buildings of solid brick, either temples or viharas, ever existed in the valley of the Ganges, they could not fail to have left their traces, as the stupas have done. (2) The Indian buildings, so

<sup>1</sup> J. R. A. S. 1898, p. 287.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 284-285.

<sup>3</sup> *History of Indian Architecture*, pp. 202, 618 ; and *Cave Temples of India*, p. 34.

far as we know (apart from the stupas, which are not buildings at all) were not solid, but hollow."<sup>1</sup>

"The Babylonian Zigurats represented exactly on a large scale the same idea of a mountain.....the storied Viharas of India, with their retreating stages, are also imitation mountains. The artificial mountain of the Indians was necessarily a hollow shell, because all their constructions was of brick and wood.....But the towering Vihara became a very different structure from the solid stories of the Zigurat, for India has rarely borrowed any thing which she has not altered in adopting it." This is a very convenient assumption; Kennedy himself admits that when he says "but we may conjecture that Zigurat and Vihara had a common origin," but he is generous to confess that "these speculation may be fanciful;" and he "will not deny it."

Thus Grunwedel and Burgess hold that "the Persian style, which the Achaemenides employed in their buildings at Susa and Persepolis, has inherited West Asian forms in its constructive as well as in its decorative features. This Persian style, which shows many peculiarities, is unfortunately represented only by a few monuments upon which it is almost impossible to pronounce judgment. But undoubtedly its elements may again be recognised in the buildings of Asoka's day and of the older Indian style, dependent on that of Asoka, as grafted upon the native wooden style."

"As chief elements, the following forms may be indicated:—The Persian pillar with bell-shaped capital was adopted directly; it was set up by itself as an inscription-pillar; the famous iron pillar of Delhi is a later example. In sculptures it is seen not only in representation of palace-halls, but also decoratively,—often to divide spaces, and with many interesting variants. The bell-capital frequently serves as a basis for one or more lions or elephants, or for a religious symbol (*e.g.*, the

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, p. 285.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 285, 286, 287.

wheel) when the pillar is considered as standing alone. If the pillar is used as a support in a building, the bell-capital serves as base for an abacus on which turned towards the sides, winged figures of animals (winged horses, gazelles, goats, lions, or sitting elephants) are placed. This last form resembles the Persian "unicorn-pillar." The appearance of the whole pillar in India however, is rough and clumsy compared with Persian forms."<sup>1</sup>

Fergusson detects Persian influence on pillars in front of the Bedsa cave south of Karle: "The two pillars in front, however, are so much too large in proportion to the rest, that they are evidently stambhas, and ought to stand free instead of supporting a verandah. Their capitals are more like the Persepolitan type than almost any other in India, and are each surmounted by horses and elephants bearing men and women of bold and free execution." In a note he, further, adds that "in the Pitalkhora vihara, we find the Persepolitan capital repeated with a variety of animals over it; for the Hindu artists, from their natural aptitude for modifying and adapting forms, very soon repeated the bicephalous bull and ram of the Persian columns by a great variety of animals, sphinxes, and even human figures in the most grotesque attitudes."<sup>2</sup>

Of the more recent advocates of the Persian theory Sir John Marshall is stated by Dr. Spooner to have inferred from the Sarnath Capital "that Mauryan stonework had been wrought by foreign masons."<sup>3</sup> Dr. Spooner himself has gone much further and the idea which was almost within the grasp of Fergusson but 'missed,' altogether possessed him (Spooner), and he could not think of anything but Persian in the Mauryan period of Indian history.<sup>4</sup> He imagined to have explored

<sup>1</sup> Buddhi's Art in India, pp. 17-18. For illustrations see Cunningham Arch. Sur. Ind. Report. Vol. V, plates XLV, XLVI, pp. 187, 188; Burgess Archaeological Sur. W. Ind. Vol. IV, pp. 5, 12; and Cave Temples, plates XVI, XXIII, XCVI.

<sup>2</sup> History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, Vol. I, p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> J. R. A. S. 1915, p. 66.

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 38-39.

everything as the result of his excavation at Kumrahar, Patna, which, however, did not proceed further than its initial stage and could not unearth any thing but a portion of a badly damaged pillar and the footmark of what he imagined to be a hall. Starting with a preconceived idea that "the style of Asoka's sculptured capitals originated in Persepolis" he began to see at the very outset "the peculiar Persian polish in the columns" some twenty-three hundred years after their erection and (from this polish) it seemed to him "not impossible that even in its design the building (*i.e.*, the hall of which only the footmarks remain) might have been under Persian influence." The Hall of a hundred columns at Persepolis, which is discussed later on, was a square hall with ten rows of ten columns evenly spaced in square bays. "At Pataliputra," Spooner himself emphatically declares, "to be sure, we had only eight rows," but he consoles himself with an equally emphatic assumption that "there was every reason to suppose that others would be found, and possibly evidence for a porch as well, to correspond with the porch in Persepolis." He, further, admits that "the intercolumnation at Kumrahar was found to be five diameters; an intercolumnation not identical, perhaps, with that of the Persian throne-room, but still," holds Dr. Spooner, "one which is essentially Persepolitan, and never found in any other country of antiquity." So far as the capitals are concerned of which there appears to be striking similarity as has even pointed by all authorities, Spooner admits that "No capitals had been recovered in Patna to help us in comparing the two buildings, nor had any pedestals been met with." Spooner acknowledged the importance of the existence of capitals when he says that "It may be true that, so far as Indian architecture is concerned, the only substantial point showing Persian influence is the capital." He further admits that "it may be true that no architectural plan in India, nor any type of building, as a whole, has hitherto been known which one could say was based directly on a Persian model," but yet undeterred even by this consideration



Dr. Spooner goes on to build his castle of assumption and declares that "a careful study of the stratification suggested that pedestals had, *in all* probability, existed, and the *indicated* dimensions and proportions justified the thought that these pedestals must have been themselves of Persepolitan type, round in plan, some 3 feet high, and inferentially, bell-shaped, though as regards this latter point," he is forced to admit that "no evidence exists."<sup>1</sup>

Here it is necessary to observe that not a single monument of recognisable condition is available in Persia; everything has been in ruins which were seen by historians and of which many objects have been cleverly restored by several archaeologists from scanty material but fertile imagination. But the restorers do not agree amongst themselves. The actual condition of the ruins and the manner of their restoration are pointed out later on.

As more tangible similarity between the Persian and the Indian architecture is apparent in the capitals of columns it will be perhaps better to take into consideration this object to begin with. Columns in all countries can be classified into two broad classes in regard to their utility, namely, the free pillars and those which are employed in buildings as support to the whole structure and as the regulator of the whole composition in ancient architecture in any case. And as regards this regulating column alone the question of proportion and intercolumnation can arise. But so far as this column is concerned the capital is of minor importance, because in many places of its employment it becomes mixed up with the entablature and loses its prominency if not its identity also. Of the free pillar, on the other hand, the capital is the most prominent part, because no other part draws the attention of the visitor so much, the free pillar having no other purpose to serve except being showy. Therefore, apart from the consideration of stability, the proportion between its length and width and

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 66, 67.

between its component parts, namely, the pedestal, base, shaft, and capital, has no significance. But these are the factors which count much in case of the regulating pillar, because apart from aesthetic consideration any error in the proportion and in the composition of several parts often prove injurious not only to the pillar itself but also destructive to the whole building. Consequently the regulating pillar can hardly be considered without taking into consideration the building which it regulates.

These common characteristic features of columns in all countries may help us in distinguishing the really essential elements from the unessential ones. Before proceeding further it is necessary to take stock of what we find in India and what in Persia, and when.

The archæological remains in India could not be dated much earlier than the fifth century B.C., the Piprahwa Stupa building of 450 B.C. being about the earliest, until the discoveries made at Mahenjodaro and Harappa which may take back by centuries the Indian architecture and other matters of the cultural progress of the country to a time which would make it impossible to further speculate on the Persian influence in India in any case. But before the artistic treasures unearthed in Sindh and the Punjab have been properly studied and made available they can be hardly utilised in an article like this. We are, therefore, perforce to limit our observation to the old materials which are fortunately plentiful for the present purpose.

The extant Buddhist pillars, with which alone a Persian connection has been sought to be established, and which probably at one time could be counted by hundreds, do not number more than a dozen. The best known Asokan pillar is that removed from Topra to Delhi by Firoz Sha Tughlak in 1356. A fragment of a second was re-erected also in Delhi in 1867. Three others exist in Champaran district: the first of these is known as the Lauriya-Araraj, the second as the Lauriya Navandgarh pillar, and fragment of the other was "recognised—utilised as a roller for the station roads by an utilitarian member of the

Civil Service." The most complete shaft, bereft however, of its capital, is the Allahabad pillar to which a pedestal was added by Captain Smith, but which was again thrown down and re-erected by Jahangir (in 1605) to commemorate his accession. Four others of Asokan pillars are in much damaged condition at Rampurwa, Nigliva, Rammindei, and Sarnath. "It is more than probable that each of these Asokan pillars stood in front of or in connection with some Stupa, or building of some sort. At least we know that six or seven can be traced at Sanchi, and nearly an equal number at Amarabati, and in the representation of topes at the latter place, these *lats* are frequently represented both outside and inside the rails. At Karle one still stands in front of the great cave." The pillar at Eran and the iron pillar at Meharauli near Delhi belong to the Gupta period, and the pillar at Pathari in Bhopal is ascribed to Rastrakuta King Parabala (861 A.D.).

The crowning ornament of these pillars have been lost, but the capitals of some pillars still exist. The capital of the pillar at Lauriya Navandgarh is surmounted by a lion of bold and good design. The pillar at Sankisa situated between Mathura and Kanouj, of which the greater part of the shaft has been lost is surmounted "by an elephant, but so mutilated that even in the 7th century the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang mistook it for a lion." The pillar at Karle is surmounted by four lions, "which, judging from analogy, once bore a *chakra* or wheel, probably in metal." The pillars at Bedsa, a dozen miles south of Karle, partly stand free and partly supporting a verandah: these pillars are surmounted by horses and elephants bearing men and women of bold and free execution. These capitals are stated to be "more like the Persepolitan type than almost any others." In a note, on the authority of Dr. Le Bon, Fergusson, further, asserts that in the Pitalkhora vihara "the Persepolitan capital is repeated with a variety of animals over it; for the Hindu artists, from their natural aptitude for modifying and adapting forms, very soon replaced the bicephalous bull and ram

of the Persian columns by a great variety of animals, sphinxes, and even human figures in the most grotesque attitudes."<sup>1</sup>

It is needless to point out that this 'great variety of animals' on the capitals of Indian columns has caused great inconvenience and discomfort to the advocate of the Persian theory because on Persepolitan capitals the animals comprise only bull, and unicorn, possibly lion too.

Another important factor which Fergusson himself admits is that the Persepolitan "features are only found on the *lats* of Asoka, and are never seen afterwards in India, though common in Gandhara and on the Indus long afterwards..... Persian form of capital long retained its position in Indian art."<sup>2</sup> It is, however, not stated how, and why the Persian form did not influence the other Indian types, but the fundamental differences in the Indian types are explained: "whatever the Hindus copied, however, was changed in course of time, by decorative additions and modifications, in accordance with their own taste." With such an assumption any slight similarity in the most ordinary things of any two countries or peoples may establish relation of indebtedness of any one of the two to the other.

The great variety, and the undeniable differences from the Persian model, of the Indian columns can be verified by a reference to the capitals of pillars at cave No. 26 at Ajanta (Fergusson I, p. 154), at the Chaitya Cave of Kenheri (p. 164), at Bhaja (p. 178), at caves of Nahapana and of Gautamputra in Nasik (p. 185), at Sri Yajna Cave (p. 188), at Vihara No. 16 (p. 190), No. 17 (p. 191), No. 24 (p. 194), No. 1 (p. 195), at Ajanta, at Patna (p. 207), at Jamalgarh (p. 214), at Srinagar and at Shadipur (p. 257), in Bhima Rath at Mamallapuram (p. 332), Dhvaja-stambha at Elura (p. 346), Dipa-stambha in Dharwar (p. 347), in Tirumalai Nayyaka's chaultri at Madura (p. 387), at Vellor and at Pelur (p. 399), of the Hall in

<sup>1</sup> Ind. and East. Arch. I, 138.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid p. 59.

Palace at Madura (p. 414), of Court in palace in Tanjor (p. 415), at Ananta Gumpā in Orissa (Vol. II, p. 16), of a Indra Sabha cave at Elura (pp. 20, 21), of Bimala temple at Mount Abu (pp. 39, 42), at Chandravali, Mount Abu (p. 43), at Ranpur (pp. 46, 47), at Khajuraho (p. 53), at Gyaraspur (p. 54), at Amwa (p. 56), at Sravana Belgola (p. 75), at Mudabidri (pp. 76, 77, 78), at Guruvayankeri (p. 81), at Jajpur (p. 111), at Kailasa and Elura (p. 126), at Elephanta (p. 129), Kirtistambha at Vадnagar (p. 136), at Udayapur in Gwalior (p. 146), and at Brindaban (pp. 157, 158).

This long list of existing pillars when compared with the shorter one comprising less than a dozen examples where certain similarity with the Persian type is possible makes it all the more difficult to believe in the Persian theory so far as the Indian pillars are concerned. Moreover, there is another consideration and that is, in a matter like the present one, perhaps more significant. Only the general principles and practicable rules and regulations for the guidance of artists are codified in standard treatises dealing with a subject like architecture. If any similarity can be clearly detected in the standard treatises of different countries deficiency due to the lack of sufficient archaeological remains can be rectified. But so far as Persia is concerned there appears to have been no such treatise ever written. All that has been recorded in Persia are from the reports of foreign visitors entirely based on their observation of the scanty remains. In India fortunately we possess in manuscripts many hundreds of Śilpaśāstras dealing with architecture and the cognate arts in great detail. But the standard work, *Mānasāra*, was not accessible to scholars in any form until the publication of the writer's *Indian Architecture and Dictionary of Hindu Architecture* in 1927. It is needless to repeat what has been stated in these books. It is possible that from the details gathered together in these books, the readers may expect with greater reasons a similarity between the Indian and the Greco-Roman orders rather than the Persian

columns. Merely the conclusion may be quoted here : " The striking similarities in the names of the mouldings, like *padma* or *cyma*, *hara* or *bead*, or in the names of orders like the *Misrita* or *Composite*, may sometimes be attributed to inexplicable coincidence. But in view of other striking similarities between Vitruvius and the *Mānasāra*, such as the classification of orders into exactly five, and the divisions of subservient parts called mouldings, common to all the orders, into eight, and also the proportionate measurement varying equally from six to ten diameters, and tapering almost in the same way, there seem to have been something more substantial than mere coincidence. An influence, direct or indirect, of the one upon the other, seems highly probable."<sup>1</sup>

In the absence of direct influence, and indirect influence through the Persian source should have been quite feasible if there were really anything common save and except a few capitals.

So far as the antiquity and the variety are concerned the Indian columns are so very remote and different from even the doubtfully restored columns of Persia, that no connection seems to be probable. Synonyms of pillars are met with in the *Rig-veda*<sup>2</sup> and the *Atharva-veda*,<sup>3</sup> the former of which, in any case, must be dated before the *Zend-Avesta* of the *Parsis*. As regards the variety they are far too many to be referred to ; they are given in detail in the writer's *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Indian Architecture by the writer, p. 153.

<sup>2</sup> *Rigveda*, I, 59, 1 ; IV, 5, 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Altrava-veda* IX, 3, 1 ; Bloomfield, *Hymns of the A. V.* 343 et. seq.

<sup>4</sup> *Aṅghri* (pp. 13-14), *Āyaka* (p. 67), *Āyikapāda* (p. 69), *Uchehbraya* (p. 78), *Kīrti-stambha* (p. 132), *Gaṇḍa-veranda*, bearing sun-eagle (pp. 161, 674), *Garuḍa-stambha* (pp. 163, 652, 655, 666, 667, 674, 675, 677), *Griha-stambha* (p. 172), *Charapa* (p. 196), *Chitra-stambha* (p. 196), *Chitra-karpa* (p. 196), *Janghā* (p. 203), *Jayanti* (p. 208), *Jaya-stambha*, pillar of victory (p. 208), *Dandaka* with 16 sides (p. 256), *Dvi-vajraka* (p. 281), *Dhārāpa* (p. 282), *Dhvaja-stambha*, bearing a flag or banner (p. 282), *Dharma-stambha* (p. 282), *Dhānya-stambha* (p. 282), *Padmakānta* (p. 339), *Pāda* (p. 346), *Pālika-stambha* (p. 348), *Kulikāṅghrika* (p. 143), *Brahma-kānta* (p. 443), *Mānestambha*, (pp. 654-656, 671),

The proportion and the intercolumnations of the Persian type are also essentially different from the Indian ones. The proportionate measures of the pedestal, base, shaft, capital and entablature as well as the plan and intercolumnation have been discussed in great detail in the writer's *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture* and need not be repeated here. Only the conclusions again may be briefly referred to. The measures of the mouldings of twelve pedestals<sup>1</sup> classified under three heads, and of some sixty-four basis<sup>2</sup> under nineteen heads have been given. Shafts are primarily divided into five orders, but there is a great variety described under the technical names of which a long list has been given above. The capitals too, which have drawn the attention of the archaeologists rather disproportionately, have been described under several types, none of which appears to have much resemblance with the Persian ones.

Mūla-danda (p. 511), Yūjpa-stambha (517), Ruchaka (p. 526), Rudra-kānta (527), Lakshmi-stambha (p. 527), Vajra-pada (p. 533), Vajra (p. 532), Viskawbha (p. 557), Viṣṇu-kānta (p. 557), Vṛitta (p. 563), Śitā-stambha (p. 598), Śiva-kānta (p. 594), Subhāṅkari (p. 595), Sukhāṅghri (p. 595), Śrīkara (p. 597), Saumukhya (p. 642), Skanda-kānta (p. 643), Sthūna (p. 731), Sthānu (p. 731), of the Jains, Buddhists, Vaiṣṇavas, Śaivas (p. 677-678), --Basava pillar (p. 673), Benefaction pillar (p. 667), Beauty pillar (p. 597), Boundary pillar (p. 661), Brahma-deva pillar (p. 676), Crocodile pillar (p. 677), Devotion pillar (p. 670), Diamond pillar (p. 533), Dwarf pillar (pp. 13-14, 86), Elephant pillar (p. 676), Fan-palm pillar (p. 677), Fortune pillar (pp. 652-653, 668), Foundation pillar (pp. 511, 655, 664, 667), Four-faced pillar (pp. 653, 654, 658), Gate pillar (p. 672), Gold pillar, (p. 648), Granite pillar (pp. 654, 655, 656), Honour pillar (pp. 664-665, 666, 670-671), Lamp pillar (pp. 258, 661, 672, 673, 677), Lion pillar (pp. 655, 675, 676), Main pillar (p. 143), Memorial pillar (pp. 538, 674), Monkey pillar (p. 677), Monumental pillar (pp. 132, 282, 675), Octagonal pillar (p. 656), Phallus pillar (p. 667), Piety pillar (p. 659), Projecting pillar (p. 657), Quadrangular pillar (p. 653, 656, 657), Religious pillar (p. 282), Sacrificial pillar (pp. 663, 666, 669-670, 677), Sati pillar (pp. 660, 677), Sixteen-sided pillar (669), Stone pillar (pp. 598, 645, 652, 653, 657, 658, 659, 671, 673), Thieves pillar (p. 677), Thirty-two sided pillar (p. 649), Town pillar (p. 665), Trident pillar (p. 652), Umbrella pillar (p. 676), Unshaken pillar (p. 673), Upper pillar (p. 143), Victory pillar (pp. 659, 664, 666, 670, 671, 677), Wall pillar (p. 139), War pillar (pp. 661-662), and Welfare pillar (p. 669).

Like the *Romaka siddhānta* the name of an astronomical treatise based on Roman sources one might expect to find in this huge list pillars named after the Greeks, Romans, or the Parsis, but no such names are available.

<sup>1</sup> The Writer's Dictionary, pp. 88-91.

<sup>2</sup> The Writer's Dictionary, pp. 20-41.

Lastly the entablature have been described under eight classes.<sup>1</sup>

The height of the pedestal is generally from one-quarter to six times of the height of the base. Pedestals are actually given nine heights which are worked out by nine proportions. In the case where a pedestal is joined to the base, the height of the pedestal may be either equal to that of the base, or twice, or three times as much. Again the bases are given twelve heights varying from 30 *angulas* (of  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch each) to 4 cubits. The height of the shaft being divided into four parts, one is given to the base which may or may not be accompanied by a pedestal. The height of the entablature as compared with that of the base may be equal to the latter, or less by  $\frac{1}{4}$ , or greater by  $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{3}{4}$ , or twice in cubit measure these six heights may vary from  $4\frac{1}{2}$  to 7 cubits. The heights of the entablature when compared with that of the shaft may be  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{3}{4}$ , of, or equal to, or greater by,  $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the latter.

Similarly the capitals are varied at pleasure, though not without regard to the diameter and length of the shaft, and the forms of the plainest of them are found at a distant view to bear some resemblance to the Doric and Ionic capitals; but those of a more elaborate kind are sometimes so overloaded with a sort of filligree ornaments, as to destroy the effect of the beautiful proportions of the whole.<sup>2</sup>

The capital given to the first design is from a model found at Tiruvottiyur near Madras and is called Taranga (Wave)—bodhika; it is one diameter high and projects equal to its heights (*Dictionary*, p. 680). The other form is from a temple at Mayalapura; it is called suru-bodhika or roll capital (p. 680). The height of the third capital called Phalaka is three-quarters of the lower diameter of the column and is divided into thirteen parts: its projection is one diameter (p. 683). The capital in the fourth variety takes three-quarters of the diameter (pp. 687-698). The fifth capital, called Pushpa-

<sup>1</sup> The Writer's Dictionary, pp. 878-881.

<sup>2</sup> The Writer's Dictionary, p. 704.



bandha, or Band of flower, is equal to the upper diameter of the column : its projection is equal to its height, but its altitude may be equal to the higher, lower, or the middle diameter of the column ; and its breadth may be equal to its height, or four or five diameters (p. 691). There are many other varieties which are hardly necessary for the present purpose (pp. 699-702). We may conclude with a more general direction : "a capital the height of which is from one to two diameters, and the breadth twice its height, is of the superior sort ; and that which in height is half the diameter, and in breadth from one to three diameters is of the inferior sort." (p. 691).

The plan of the Hindu columns admits of every shape, and is frequently found in the round, quadrangular, and octangular forms, although sixteen-sided and thirty-two-sided ones are also met with : they are richly adorned with sculptured ornaments (p. 703).

'The intercolumnation may be two, three, four, or five diameters : it is measured in three ways—first, from the inner extremity of the base of one pillar to that of another ; secondly, from the centres of the two pillars ; and thirdly, from the outer extremities of the pillars including the two bases. There seems to be no fixed intercolumnation. This has been left to the discretion of architects, who are, however, required to be particularly careful with regard to beauty and utility.'<sup>1</sup>

Similar details of columns may be briefly quoted from Perrot and Chizez's *History of Art in Persia* :

'A glance at the proportions of the Persian column, its thin and airy aspect would, almost by itself, make it clear that it would have been a poor support for a stone entablature.' (p. 48). We have seen above that the Indian column is generally bulky. 'The shaft of the Persian column is always tall and slender. In the Palace of the thirty-six columns at Persepolis, the total height of the order, with base and crown, is in the proportion

<sup>1</sup> Indian Architecture by the writer, p. 45.

of twelve to one diameter of the shaft ; whilst in the Pasargadæ specimen, whose capital has disappeared, the proportions are more airy and light.' (p. 53). 'The Susian column, whose head is now in the Lanvre, best characterises the architecture of the Achaemenide sovereigns.' (pp. 86, 87).

'The shaft in all the orders of the edifices is slender and slightly tapering towards the top. . It is fluted in all instances save in the façades of the necropoles at Persepolis, and the single column that still remains of the Palace of Cyrus in the upland valley of the Polvar.' (p. 87).

'In the oldest stone column standing among the ruins of the Palace of Cyrus at Pasargadæ, we have a faithful representation of the primitive post, save that its material is stone and not wood. There is no fluting, the shaft being quite smooth. But what was its capital like ? No body knows. As to the base, it is a simple round form interposed between the shaft and the ground, even more rudimentary than the cube which does duty not as a plinth in the rustic house.' (pp. 98-99).

'The complex column, with double capital and volutes, rose between the four enormous pillars of the monumental propylæa on the Persepolitan platform ; it upheld the ceiling of the central hall of the great Palace of Zerxes, and formed the supports, both internally and externally, in the main porch of the Hall of a hundred columns, as well as those of the hypostyle hall of Artaxerxes at Susa.' In a note it is further stated that 'until recently only slight fragments of the capitals had been recovered ; nevertheless the number seen by Coste was sufficiently large to enable to write as follows " the flutes of the shaft are cut to a fine edge, and the capitals consist of four distinct sections. " Scores of shafts and chips of capitals were disengaged some ten years ago. In Plates (LXVII-LXIX) of the atlas published by the German Mission, entitled *Details of Columns*, will be found fragments of the bull-group, along with pillars adorned by volutes and the cylindrical form which intervenes between these and the pillar. Altogether they furnish all

the elements requisite for a restoration of the column' (p. 95), but not for a comparison with the Indian column.

'All the columns have a base, which differs from one building to another.' (p. 88). 'The type that prevailed all over the country in the golden age of Persian art is represented' in the great palace at Susa. It constitutes the true Persian base. 'The base is not infrequently carved into the lower drum of the shaft, and is singled with it; hence with it must stand or inevitably fall. Elsewhere, in the hypostyle hall of Xerxes, for instance, the base is cut into two; in it the torus belongs to the first drum of the shaft, whilst the principal member is a separate block—resting directly on the ground. Despite the elegance of its contour and the care displayed in its make, the base lacks independence, and does not sufficiently contrast with the column so as to allow of those charming effects which greet us' (pp. 89-90) in the Grecian and Indian support.

As regards the shape of the base, it is limited to a few types only. 'In the Palace of Cyrus it is a disc, or a reversed quarter round. A more complicated shape, composed of a rectangular plinth and a torus seamed by horizontal channelings is seen in one of the porticoes of the Gabre, in the central colonnade of the great Palace of Xerxes at Susa, as also in the Hall of a hundred column.' (p. 88).

The plinth is hardly seen or can be distinguished. The proportion between the component parts of the column is also lacking.

The Persian capitals of which much has been made out by the early Indologists may be referred to in all available details.

In every case the lower portion of the capital detaches itself very abruptly from the column, forms a horizontal line on each side, parallel to the architrave and at right angles with the axis of the shaft. There is no junction or intermediary moulding between the tapering column and the rectangular member at the beginning of the capital, (p. 92) akin to the *echinus* of the Doric and Indian capital.

If, neglecting minor details, we only regard the shape as a whole, it does not seem unlikely that the first notion of it was suggested by the crowning tuft of a palm. The lower members of the capital would represent the dead twigs as they droop and fall about the stern of the tree; the upper members, whose forms look upwards, would stand for the young shoots, which dart forward past the sere foliage with a slight outward curve; the vertical striae that scar the surface throughout would be reminiscent of the intervals or fillets which, in nature, separate the leaves of the terminal bunch.' (p. 92).

In India, on the other hand, it should be noted, the analogy lies with the human body: the capital stands for the head, the shaft for the body, the base for the leg, and the pedestal for the foot.

'Stolze (Persepolis, Bemerkungen) seems to think that in the capitals of the columns' the animals figured resemble the horse rather than the bull.....the ornamentist hit upon a kind of compromise between the two quadrupeds, so as to add another conventional type to his repertory, which is not a whit more strange than that of the unicorn, found at support to many of the architraves.'

The animals that figured on Indian capitals, we have seen, are neither bull, nor even the compromised unicorn but mostly lion, elephant and man.

Nothing like the Indian cave temples have been disclosed from the Persian ruins. No discussion on the subject is, therefore, possible.

*(To be continued.)*

P. K. ACHARYA

1 Hypostyle hall of Xerxes at Persepolis No. 31 (Perrot and Chipiez. p. 91), No (p. 93), No. 38 (p. 97), No. 43 (p. 112) No. 44 (p. 115).

## HOW DID JESUS INTERPRET HIMSELF?

*From age to age and from clime to clime men have interpreted the life, teaching, death and continued influence of Jesus of Nazareth in a variety of ways, and to-day all over the world we see a flourishing crop of personal and communal interpretations of this amazing man. What does he mean for the world? Wisdom urges that before we go very far in our interpretation of Jesus we pause to consider how he interpreted himself. Just what was Jesus' conception of his mission? What life purpose did he follow? What was his aim, his message, his method?*

To answer these questions, let us first glance at the dominant hope of his race and religion, namely, the hope in the coming of the Kingdom of God, and then trace the probable development of his convictions from his youth, his meeting with John the Baptist, and his Galilean ministry until Peter's Confession and the Cross.

### *I. The Kingdom and the Messiah.*

The hope of the Kingdom of God may be traced back through the writings of the Jewish scripture to the very beginning of the religion of Israel, a people that had always considered itself under the kingship of God. Although He had so far revealed himself to Israel alone, the time would come when He would assert his sovereignty over all nations. In the prophetic teaching the idea of God's sovereignty almost succeeds in liberating itself from national limitations. Yet His universal kingdom would have its seat at Jerusalem, and its blessings would be mediated to all nations through Israel. The disasters of the exile seemed for a moment to shatter the national cause, but with the insistence on the righteousness of God, which must punish the sin of the nation, the belief emerged with renewed vigour. Gradually, Israel saw the might of heathenism no longer as something dispersed and fragmentary, but a single power opposing itself to the

cause of God; hence the idea was rendered possible of a higher spiritual Kingdom over against the world. On the one hand, God is already potentially supreme, though he permits wickedness for a time; but on the other hand, *His Kingdom* is conceived as lying in the future. *The nations have not yet submitted to him, and Israel itself has not yet yielded an entire allegiance.* But the actual nation, so runs the hope, with its sin and disobedience, contains within it the germ of what will ultimately be the true people of Israel. All history is leading up to the great transition, or 'Day of the Lord.' National disasters will culminate in acute distress; then the day will be ushered in. The Lord must regenerate his own people by a fiery discipline before he can bring in the promised age of peace and righteousness; the world will share in the happiness of Israel, and even nature will share in the glorious bloom. Now the new world is the existing world, with its joys and interests and activities all purified and heightened.

With the great patriotic struggles against overbearing heathen powers, a new form of hope entered—the 'apocalyptic'—as in the book of Daniel. It was a substitute for prophecy not creative, but derivative, elaborate and secret. It was wholly concerned with the future, divided by a great gulf from the present. The new order will break in suddenly, and by an act of miracle. The change is expected almost at once. The apocalyptic writers pointed to signs and warnings, and computed the seasons according to obscure hints of ancient prophecy. The expression Kingdom of God was scarcely mentioned, but the Coming Age was still the time of God's sovereignty. National interest assumed a more central place than ever, but it did not exclude a heightening of the ethical interest. God will assure the triumph of his oppressed servants who have remained true to his Law.

In the early prophetic hope of a *political* kingdom, the king was visualized as a descendant of the house of David; the hope, however, was centered not on him, but on the kingdom. After the exile, Israel alone became the object of prophetic thought, and God himself was concerned as King. But in the later apo-

calypitic hope, the angelic 'Man' or 'son of Man,' who represents Israel (*Daniel*, 7. 13) as against the 'beasts' of other nations, is transformed, by *The Similitudes of Enoch* into a Messiah who is a real, active person, and carries out the thundering decrees of God. From this time on, we find the idea of a Davidic king merging with that of this supernatural man who will descend from heaven to enact his part in the final scenes. The 'Son of David' fuses with the 'Son of Man.' The 17th *Psalm of Solomon*, contains the fullest and finest exposition in Jewish writings of the conception of the Messiah which we may assume to have been most current at the time of Jesus. Although inheriting the throne of David, the Messiah will be chosen by God and will rule in His name and authority. His peculiar vocation is to destroy the dominion of the Gentiles, and set up in its stead the Kingdom of Israel, which he will govern in perfect accord with the will of God, in holiness, justice and wisdom.

## II. *The Youth of Jesus.*

T. R. Glover has portrayed with charming penetration the probable early life of Jesus. Born a Galilean, Jesus inherited pure Jewish characteristics, and the sturdy and joyous independence of his people. C. F. Kent pictures him as tall, strong, deeply browned, with thin nostrils and lustrous eyes. He seems to have betn alive to the workings of the small home, keen in play and observation about the town with its visiting pilgrims and travellers from far and near, a diligent and thoughtful student of Scripture, and a lover of nature. Very likely he early learned to help his father about the shop, and took up his trade when he was able. In the developed man, Glover notices a searching look, a charm and brilliancy of speech, a love of imagery, deep emotions, quick realization of a situation, an unusual sense of fact, and a strong demand for truth. These qualities do not spring up suddenly; no doubt they grew out of a pensive and active youth.

It is the tendency of children when they hear a story, to identify themselves with the hero for the time being; anyone, child or

not, takes sides in every situation whether it be real, remembered or imaginary. Judgments are being constantly made on the material presented by every-day life, by tales and ideals; and in a thoughtful person these judgments become more and more integrated in a philosophy of life. Luke tells us, and we have no reason to doubt, that Jesus was in the temple at the age of twelve about his father's business, seriously asking and answering questions. Till the beginning of his ministry at the age of thirty-three, a period of twenty-one years including adolescence, we may imagine a normal solid development of ideals in the mind of Jesus. He pondered over the hope of the Kingdom with its Messiah, a hope running through Scripture and the apocalyptic literature, he studied the real and ideal characters set forth so vividly, he formed his opinion about them, and identifying himself with the highest in each with a progressive selection, he began to form an ideal character peculiar to himself. And this character, based on the lives of forceful men, would be dynamic, seeking outlet, ready to be touched off by the proper spark. He looked out upon the varied life about him, noticed its viciousness and its nobility, its squalor and its beauty. The needs of the people touched the divine sense of pity in his soul, and he yearned to help them. He felt the hopes of the masses panting after deliverance, and mentally tested the various remedies proposed and defined in the images of the Kingdom with its representative, whether king, angel, ideal teacher or suffering servant. Upon some lofty ridge under the clear expansive sky, with waving grain, soft green trees and sparkling water stretched out beneath him, he would brood over the situation, wonder what he could do, think what he ought to do, and draw upon his store of scriptural ideals. These noble characters of the Old Testament (few, it may be) *lived* to him, they lived *in* him, they sought to do the will of God for his people *now*. And yet, they did not live as individuals, but in a peculiar unity in the mind of Jesus. Great conceptions draw their materials from times of stress and crisis, but they are worked up and moulded not in turmoil but apart, where the thinker is not blocked and brought



down to earth by too frequent and familiar public contacts. The ideal may range to the end of the earth, and to the height of heaven, if it does not seek expression in the real world, and expose itself to the blows of hard fact. The ideal was strong in Jesus. Would the coming events of public life confirm or destroy it?

### III. *John the Baptist.*

“ John came, who was baptizing in the wilderness, and proclaiming the baptism of repentance unto the remission of sins.— And he proclaimed, saying, After me comes one who is mightier than I, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to stoop down and unloose. I have baptized you with water, but he shall baptize you with Holy Spirit. (*Mark*, 1. 4, 7, 8)...Repent ye, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand!” (*Matthew*, 3.2.) His message was that of the old pre-exilic prophets placed in an apocalyptic setting.

As Scott says, the baptism preached by John was closely related to his message, and has doubtless to be explained in the light of apocalyptic tradition. It had been assumed from the time of the prophets onward that the Kingdom was reserved for the righteous, and that a cleansing from sin was the necessary condition for entering it. John offered his baptism to those who sought to undergo this cleansing. It was administered after a profession of repentance and to this extent was a purely symbolic rite betokening an inward, moral change. It conveyed a guarantee to the baptized that God had accepted them, and had forgiven their sins. They could look forward to the coming judgment with hope instead of fear, since they had been washed in ‘ that fountain for sin and uncleanness which God had promised to open for his people in the latter days.’ Josephus states that John refused to grant his baptism to all comers, but only to those who desired to live righteously. This confirms the Gospel narrative that John’s teaching declared the Kingdom open to all only if they repented. Moral righteousness was the one guarantee for entrance into the Kingdom, and there is no reason to doubt that his baptism was an

indication of ethical repentance, and not mere ceremonial purity. It is true, he did not originate the practice; it was used in the ceremonial rites of the Essenes, and in the Jewish proselyte bath; but John gave it a new and ethical significance.

But John did more than preach repentance, and baptize with water. He announced the coming of One who ' baptizes in Holy Spirit and in fire ' (*Matthew*, 3.11), some mighty man or angel. In accord with the common conception of the Kingdom, we may believe that John preached both a coming time of trial and cleansing (fire), and the outpouring of the Spirit of righteousness and power (Holy Spirit)

To the fiery preaching of this new prophet, Jesus was no doubt attracted. He left his Galilean home, and came to the banks of the Jordan. It was natural that the vigorous, fundamental message of this follower of the stern Amos and Micah should stir Jesus, and strike a chord in his own forceful soul. He came to take part in the movement. Renan believes that Jesus was a young Rabbi with a loosely organized band of disciples before he came to John. However this may be, we do know that Jesus was independent of John, and his message distinctly different. On the other hand, whether or no Jesus was intimate with John, we know that he admired him greatly. That John powerfully stimulated Jesus is certain.

The attempt of the First and the Fourth Gospel to make Jesus appear too good to be baptized like the rest of the people is based upon fact. If our impression of Jesus is correct he did not need to repent. But baptism was essentially a seal upon the purpose to live righteously, repentance being necessary only if the life had been sinful. Hence Jesus' very righteousness made him want baptism. His true motive, very likely, was that suggested in the record of *Matthew*. " Thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness." In a solemn and emphatic manner, he identified himself with the hopes of his countrymen, and acknowledge the divine commission of John. He sympathized with the movement, and acted. He never assumed perfection (*Luke*, 18.19), and even

if he regarded himself *then* as the Messiah, he would have desired to be all the more typical of those in the new Kingdom.

But the Evangelists go further, and say that Jesus came to know, at the moment of Baptism, that he was 'God's Beloved Son.' *Mark*, the earliest Gospel, is here the most trustworthy; he describes it only as an experience of Jesus himself. The imagery of the heavens Spirit and dove are graphic representations of the mental activity of God.

What means the phrase, 'Thou art my Son, the Beloved; in thee I delight?' There is little doubt that *Mark* (as well as *Matthew* and *Luke*) holds that at the moment of baptism Jesus hears God declare him His Messiah. The words are based upon two *Old Testament* passages. In the seventh verse of the second Psalm, (which is Messianic) stand the words 'Thou art my beloved Son; I this day have begotten thee.' According to Wellhausen, this would mean to a Semitic writer, 'My best loved Son,' that is, 'My Messiah.' 'Messiah' or 'Christ' equals 'Son of God' to *Mark* and the Christians. (*Mark*, 1. 1, 24; 3.11; 5.7; 14-61) In *Isaiah*, 42.1, we read, "Behold my servant whom I uphold, my Chosen, in whom my soul delights." Here, as we see, the idea of 'delight' connotes choice; God has chosen his servant for a special mission. *Mark*, then, seems to hold that at baptism, Jesus realized that he was God's Messiah who had a mission similar to that of the servant mentioned in *Isaiah*, 42. The word 'pais' (servant) is often interchanged with 'uios' (son).

Our problem, of course, is to find what Jesus himself thought. We note a gradual exaltation of Jesus in the later Gospels, with a parallel pushing back of the beginning of his divinity. In Peter's speech in Acts, the divinity of Jesus comes at death, then (possibly according to *Mark*) it comes at baptism. then (according to *Mt.* and *Luke*) at birth, and in *John*, even before the world began. Did Jesus ever think himself Messiah? If so, when? The position here taken, is that Jesus *did* regard himself as Messiah, but never in the sense of any traditional literary or popular conception alone.

And it seems that baptism was the time when Jesus first became definitely aware of his Messianic calling. In spite of the fact that *Mark's* report must have been colored by the whole personality of Jesus and his acts *subsequent* to baptism, his account is probably true in the main, for the following reasons.

1. The story is found in the *early* Gospel of Mark, in spite of the fact that it is inconsistent with his possible view of Jesus as God's Messiah from birth. This makes its truth doubly sure. *Mark* makes it an experience of Jesus, not known by the crowd. Is it because this Gospel writer is a psychologist? Rather, because he is simply reporting a *fact* told to the disciples by Jesus in the language of imagery.

2. Jesus was about thirty-three years old at the time. He was in his maturity. He had observed life, worked and pondered much. His ideals, through serious, selective and arduous thought, must have been clear and set. His highest, or ideal self, that pure conception which every spiritual man holds before him, was a unified creation of the best in the Scriptures and popular thought. With this ideal character in his mind, Jesus is attracted to John. He is quickened by his preaching. John announces a coming One. Jesus compares him with the ideal in his mind—he must have done this consciously or unconsciously in the very process of thought. The images blend, and the coming One is in the mind of Jesus. It is peculiarly his ideal, yet it is being preached about by John. At the solemn moment of baptism, among the excited crowd, Jesus feels keenly. His mind works in pictures. Here he is being willingly baptized by John, and yet he knows that he is greater than John. And if greater than John, who can he be? John is the greatest religious man in Israel, the reviver of prophecy. Jesus can be none other than the One announced. The ideal coming One in the mind of Jesus becomes identified with himself. John supplies the objective, social stimulus, Jesus supplies the ideal, and the conception is definitely formed in his mind. Jesus is not, however, any of the various popular 'Messiahs'—he is himself, under God the Father, he does not

see clearly what the end will be—as God's Chosen, he will simply follow God. As yet the ideal is quite subjective : it has not been realized in social acceptance. He is keenly conscious of his Father's love, but this love is not a mere fondness : it is stern and dynamic; it was developed in response to severe situations, and it will be expressed in the same way. It is rather the Father's love *through* Jesus than *of* Jesus. Few will doubt that at baptism Jesus was set apart by the ' power of the Spirit ' to do God's will and service; and the determination to establish God's Sovereignty, rather than efface Jesus' self-consciousness, would enhance it. A man who is the most deeply lost in a cause finds himself the most truly, as Jesus himself said (*Mark*, 8.36). The Father is the God of the Jews, but Jesus knows him with a peculiar intimacy. No one in Israel, he feels, is more fitted to do God's will than he. Now this, it seems is a Messianic consciousness and conception, though Jesus probably does not as yet differentiate between his various Messianic functions. He does not speculate on individual privilege, but is outward looking, supremely interested in following God *now*, and bringing Israel to acknowledge his Will.

3. If the Messianic temptation recorded in *Mark* is historical at least as to its basis, it would confirm the view that Jesus experienced Messiahship at baptism. The temptation will soon be discussed.

4. The remarkable poise, self-confidence, and ready reply of Jesus during the whole very short ministry of a little over two years is favourable to the idea. The highest sense of mission brings the highest poise, and the short ministry prevents much development of ideas, especially when compared to the previous long, thoughtful period of about twenty-one years.

5. Further confirmation is added by Jesus' confident and enthusiastic reply to John's inquiry as to his Messiahship (*Matthew*, 11.4). Could Jesus have returned this satisfactory answer and not have believed in his Messiahship? In *Matthew*, 11.14 even before his decisive avowal at Caesarea Philippi, Jesus calls John 'Elijah' or, the forerunner, and adds the cryptic phrase. 'He

that hath ears to hear, let him hear.' In verses 16-19 also he connects himself with John. The impression is that he had been conscious of his Messiahship, had been for some time, and was now and then dropping little hints and making little tests. Jesus, then, early in his ministry, thought of himself as *the man*, the Man of God, one who on earth can forgive sins, and this thought probably goes back to the striking baptismal experience. To be sure, some revelations had come before: in the humble home of Nazareth, he had grown up as a true son of God though the expansion of his pure soul under the eye of the Heavenly Father. The appropriate meeting with John gave him the supreme intuition of his divine mission; the future would gradually teach him how to accomplish this mission. But it was as *Messiah*, the agent and founder of the Heavenly Kingdom, that he determined to preach the gospel

"And straightway the Spirit driveth him forth into the wilderness. And he was in the wilderness forty days, tempted of Satan, and he was with the wild beasts, and the angels ministered unto him." (*Mark*, 1.12, 13). *Matthew* and *Luke* supplement this account by a record of three definite temptations. This imagery in *Mark* is similar to that of the Baptism and the Transfiguration. How far is it a picture of the experience of Jesus? One view has it that he construed a temptation scene, because all great men, Abraham, Buddha and others were supposed to be tempted after the divine commission; another says that *Mark* lumps together the progressive experience of Jesus during his whole ministry and throws them back to the inception. Both views may well be right. Furthermore, the Marcan account looks like a synopsis of the lost source 'Q,' and not an original. Caution is needed. But the story is there, and it looks very natural. The idea of the temptation of great men must have arisen from some kind of fact; hence there is all the more reason why Jesus also should have been tempted at this time. Of course, we may, if we choose, discard the imagery and numbers. But it is very likely that Jesus, like Paul after him, *did* withdraw in solitude for a while before begin-

ning his ministry. And the trials recorded in 'Q,' though possibly colored by the later reflection of Jesus or the Gospel writers or both, are just the kind he is likely to have had. The call at baptism demanded a rigorous self-searching as to meaning, obligation, and methods. The temptations are too deep and original to be a fiction. Yet Jesus' ideas do become more clearly defined as he goes forward through the year.

The incident of the bread was a temptation to use his Messianic prerogative to satisfy his own hunger. Resisting in the spirit of *Deuteronomy*, he identifies himself with common man, and declares that man should seek first and wholly the will of God. Even as Messiah, he will not merely feed the people's stomachs. The incident of the pinnacle was a temptation to doubt his Messiahship and test God's power. But he refuses; if he should make the trial, he would by this very act disprove his true, obedient Messiahship. The incident of the kingdoms was a temptation to gratify the personal desire for power, and to use the methods of the world, of Caesar. He answers again: not private self, but God. Serve God in God's ways, through the orderly, spiritual process of love, use no physical force or political influence, and let God do the rest.

From the temptations, we imagine that Jesus went forth in the spirit of the pre-exilic prophets, bound to make the spiritual appeal in his preaching of the Kingdom. He would conceal his Messiahship so that it would not be an obstacle to the true moral progress of the people. He would deny himself, and follow God's will though the path of righteousness be thorny and exposed. He would await future progressive revelations from God and look for the Heavenly Kingdom to come—vague now, yet sure and imminent. The arrest of John could only deepen the suggestion of suffering, and produce in Jesus a greater resolution and independence.

THE TRUE ARTIST AND HIS ART<sup>1</sup>

What is art and who is the true artist? It is idle to expect any unanimity of opinions on such an intricate issue. Each thinker has found his own manner of approaching the problem and of presenting views in his unique, individual way. It is beyond my power, I confess, to introduce here a full collection of such utterances and present them in a setting so as to make a beautiful symphony. Such a task, if any were to undertake it, would be not only profoundly illuminating, but afford at once ample materials for an interesting study of the mental curiosities of different people. Leaving such a study to worthier minds, I will confine myself this evening, to a very simple aspect of the problem which, though quite common to us has not, I am afraid, received its due share of attention.

In the class-room one of the knotty questions that exasperate the juvenile mind is when he is asked to ascertain the basis of art, more particularly in connection with the issue: whether the study of Logic should be called a science or art. This, as we all know, has been a much debated problem, though a decisive answer seems to be as remote to-day as it was in the days of yore. But whatever that be, the controversy has afforded some indication as to how we should proceed if we are ever to understand the significance of art. Whoever asks: Is Logic a science or art? does by the very manner of his stating the problem, give us a clue to the meaning of art. Even if we know nothing more, this much at least is certain that art is not what is meant by science. Students of Logic will frown upon me saying: this is after all a negative definition! But let me add, to assuage their aggrieved spirits, that in the absence of a positive definition, even a negative one should be *hospitable* to us.

From this one solid point gained, it is not very difficult to pursue our line of thinking further. And though we hardly ex-

<sup>1</sup> Read before the Rajshahi College Union.



pect to obtain any positive *significance* of art by questioning even the acknowledged masters of art, our friends on the science side are ever ready with clear-cut pronouncement of their views about what is meant by science. Indeed, it is so very clear to them that I have not heard of any scientist ever considering it needful to enter upon a special dissertation as to the aim and significance of science. Every scientist knows what science stands for. It is so very definite and precise, and there is so much agreement on this point that the mere idea of any one offering a course of lectures on the meaning of science is sure to make him resent. Such however cannot be said of art. For even those who have the best claim to rank as artists seem to be ever in doubt as to what is meant by art. Socrates, it is said, made an experimental investigation whether the greatest poets of his days, to whom rightly belonged the roll of an artist's honour, knew anything about the meaning of their art. And his experience was that they were poets and artists simply by a sort of natural inspiration and not by reason of any knowledge of their art. Even to-day the situation has not improved much. Those of our modern representatives of art who have spoken out on the subject have shown so much disagreement that it is hopeless to get any intelligible meaning out of what they say.

In one way, however, we seem to be nearer the goal than ever before. When it is said that art is opposed to science, it is clear at once that where science stands for definiteness and precision, art is symbolic of everything that continues to be vague and indefinite. Whenever you know definitely what you mean and can easily make others understand your meaning without the least apprehension of any misconstruction and misinterpretation your attitude is decidedly that of a scientist. When on the contrary, you know not what you mean and yet vainly wrestle with words to convey to others what to you remains unutterable and inscrutable, you may reasonably expect to be acclaimed as an artist. This is an important point. And this explains to us why you may go through volumes of scientific treatises without the help of a

single commentator, whereas in studying a single work of any poet or philosopher you are sure to be assailed by a host of annotators. And the help which they all together offer to you tends to make you less understand what very few can really understand. This is why the element of mystery which makes the scientist furious becomes an object of love and adoration to the artist. For, it is of the very nature of art not to deal with understandable things; but to delight in vague mysteries. But even such a characterisation will be condemned by many, because it seems to have a measure of definiteness. It is desirable therefore that we open a different mode of enquiry. Art is considered by some to be that which stands opposed to nature. This seems allowable. But is it not much more definite than the foregoing one?

L\_venture to think otherwise. Anybody who reflects for a while will bear with me that hardly any utterance could be made vaguer than this. To draw any line of demarcation between nature and art is by far the most difficult task. Nobody can say with precision where nature ends and art begins. Perhaps it will be said that art covers within it every form of existence that is evolved and contrived by human skill and endeavour, and bears the impress of his designing intelligence. Whatever on the contrary, stands in its primal purity by itself, without any touch of human element, belongs to or rather constitutes the vast domain of nature. In proportion therefore as we come across human habitation, and notice him in the midst of his daily round of duties, we find him in the realm of art. When again we move far away from human habitation, leaving behind all his crafts and implements, everything that his creative genius prompted him to shape and model, we enter into the domain of nature. To contemplate nature in this aspect of its nakedness and purity, stripped bare of all human association, and to commune with her in her silent, secret mood have been the cherished dream of many. And so by this very attempt they have invariably caused disturbance to the very silent repose of nature which they sought to contemplate. Man ever seeks fellowship with nature and comes in this en-

deavour to cast a veil of his own artistic garb all around her. That nature which he seeks to discover outside of him, he finds within himself, and that art which in his supposition is grounded in himself is realised in nature. As a matter of fact, nature without art is a mere sound without any sense.

Nor can we dissociate art wholly from nature. The impulse to create and the ability to create which make man an artist, he has learnt from nature alone. Man's creative function is not thrust upon him abruptly from without, but it grows in a natural and spontaneous way. The higher he ascends in his artistic activity the more he finds himself in harmony with the hidden principle of nature's operations. Even though art were to aim at an extension of nature by adding to her its own contributions, this can mean no more than a mere enrichment of nature. And in this work of enrichment art thrives best not by going against nature, but always by working in alliance with nature. The utmost that we can do is first to accept nature's gifts and then to follow her behests in working upon these gifts, moulding and shaping them according to our choice. This is what we mean by the freedom of the artist. But the highest order of freedom which ennobles and consecrates the life of an artist is really won through hard obedience to what nature herself secretly breathes within his soul.

As art and nature appear in such an indissoluble union, it is futile to draw any line between them. Our expression that art stands opposed to nature, in spite of its simplicity, has really thrown us into a maze of confusion. In our effort to understand art we begin by saying that it is different from nature and again in the very process of comprehending it we are led to declare that art is not dissociated from nature. In one and the same breath we have to say, art is not nature, and again, art is nature.

Let us pause for a while and calmly reflect how we are affected by these thoughts. We shall all agree, it is quite a unique experience. We are puzzled, and yet not wholly disappointed. We have the hope, we shall know and enjoy, but every attempt to

know leads to confusion, wonder and amazement. Does art then stand for such an inexplicable wave of feeling which sways our mind owing to the very tangle of confusion into which we are driven in the mere attempt of understanding art?

It is difficult to *accord* to such a view. Yet there is no escape from this so long as we are bent upon having an intellectually manageable conception of art. True enough, art signifies something which like nature, is *given* to us and at once stimulates our intellectual faculties towards its comprehension, but the moment these intellectual processes are set up we find it no longer given to us as an art. We are eager to understand art and even have the promise that we shall understand it if we do but make the attempt, but every time we make the attempt, what we find is not a work of art, but the same dissolved into an ordinary event of nature. It were better if I could amplify the point by an illustration. There is hung up a picture in an art studio. To the painter who gave it being it was never a finished natural event. He felt it in the depth of his soul as an undefinable dream, a sort of vague ideal awaiting realisation, and not as an existent event discoverable anywhere in nature. To the last of his days he continued cherishing the hope if only his ideal could find embodiment in his executed design. No doubt, the picture when it passes out of his hands, takes its place along with other things of the world, with a history that has a certain beginning and end. It is also possible to analyse it into its constituent elements and by suitable arrangement of these elements we may reproduce its likeness over and over again. The original picture as well as its various likenesses may also be treated as so many exchangeable commodities, each reckoned at a certain capacity to fetch something in return. These are the features which the picture opens unto us when we seek to apprehend it intellectually. But to view it in this light is to reduce it to the level of a mere physical occurrence from which the inner spirit of art is already gone. To the painter himself, if he were a genuine artist, the picture never appears in this fashion. He paints it and would paint it for ever without inter-

ruption, for, the very rhythm of beauty which vibrates within the framework of his being stands in need of fuller realisation. As a joy it is an interminable process. Whoever has the will to look at it in its inwardness as a continuously growing experience of joy and beauty and makes himself ever ready to fulfil this function of the spirit, helps to impart to it the character of art. From the physical side the painting operation is begun in time and so it has a termination, but as a work of art it is without beginning or end. Even when the painter sends out his picture to the world, he is ever solicitous if he could make it convey the deep stirring of his soul. He longs to abide for ever in the work of his creation. for, his creative function always falls short of the ideal value which he is anxious to achieve. And so whatever else it might be to others, to the artist the picture is never a finished marketable commodity, but purely a realisable value not exchangeable for anything.

The great problem in the life of the artist, which stirs up his slumbering self, is the need felt by him as to how he should raise this supreme order of value and escape the conflicts and discords of the usual manner of life. The experiences which life ordinarily brings raise expectations, sometimes fulfilled, sometimes not. This gives rise to a baffling sense of defeat and disappointment. On such occasions we hear people say : ' all is not well with our life.' To repeat such a phrase does not cost much, because it does not go to the root of the matter. It invites people to make themselves ready for the " inevitable " and so exhorts them to put up with discords as matter-of-fact events. But the ease with which such an expression is accepted and the cheap satisfaction which it brings to the ordinary disappointed soul, are simply offensive to the spirit more deeply touched. To such a spirit alone occurs the problem, whether there may not be any other way of overcoming this sense of disappointment. Obviously to him, our natural mode of judging and evaluating things appears inaccurate. Is there no better way of evaluating things which shall rid life of every element of defeat and disappointment? If in our natural waking

moments we can't realise this supreme order of value that renders life in harmony with itself and with everything else, and makes it a never-ending source of joy, we might at any rate have a dream of it. Such a dream, if we have the good fortune to have it, will show us the way and transform our being from a coarse careworn life to an ever enjoying spirit.

But in characterising art as embodying an element of dream we expose ourselves to some danger. In one way it might lead one to think that art is the expression of a mere morbid temperament, that is always afraid of the storm and stress of actual life. Unable to stand manfully these complexities, better known as the inharmonious and ugly aspects of life, it runs effeminately away and seeks refuge in a dreamy ethereal world of its own creation. When art degenerates into this we have a sort of vain sentimentalism. At the initial stage sentimentalism is connected with a peculiar habit of living on abstractions. When the dust and tumult of the world begin to afflict the peace-loving soul, naturally it relies on the hope that the only things immune from the filth and dirt of the actualities of life are the abstract counterpart of the concrete realities. More frequently however this impulse is over-run by a deeper current from an opposite direction. The desire to be in touch with the concrete cannot be suppressed. In the realm of pure abstraction one is bound to feel as if he has been lifted into a vacuum where nobody can breathe. And so the yearning for the concrete again reasserts itself. But once the touch is lost it is not easy to get it back. In this situation there is a renewed attempt made to evolve the concrete out of the abstract, to clothe the abstract with form and colour. Such a creation, though quite common to-day, has no claim to be ranked as art.

But the other danger is not less serious. If the dream element does not inspire the artist, if he is anxious to keep close to the actualities of life and to knit them together just as they are found, in the hope that the creation of such a mosaic would represent all sides of life, we have no real art but a travesty of it.

Real art strives after the creation of forms in which nature

is not sacrificed, yet which does not imply a bare repetition of nature. It springs from the realisation of the truth that the sores and wounds which the realities of life inflict derive their healing strength from the same source. To be able to view life and nature in this aspect of its inward harmony and beauty is the basic foundation of art. Without flying away from the horrors and inequities of life, art embraces them within itself and imposes such a form on them that they appear in perfect rhythm and beauty.

Art's distinctive feature lies in forms. But in the execution of forms the artist finds no satisfaction in a mere rigid structure. The form is elastic and at the same time it is so finely realised that it seems to be fuller and richer than any piece of concrete individuality we find in nature. Nature no doubt moves towards the creation of individualities, but the process is completed in art.

Every artist thus strives after the creation of values for which we can find no parallel. It is unique in every way. We may acknowledge it as a work of art and thereby enrich its value to any extent we like (for the value which art sets up admits of augmentation to an infinite extent); but we can never find a substitute for this in any other thing. Art stands absolute by itself.

Whenever this is not the case, we have no art but mere scattered and fragmentary views of nature. It is easy for us to substitute one such object for another, but real art defies all imitation or substitution.

To people whose habits of thoughts are cast in the mould of objectivity, whose conception of value is derived solely from the fact of exchangeability, the view of art as possessing infinite potentiality of value is *irreconcilable*. They go on with their clear-cut methods of understanding things and so in their scheme of reality art has no place. Even when they talk of art, they can mean nothing but nature.

Art demands that this stable mould which, under the pressure of the instinctive sense of practicality we are forced to construct, should burst. In ordinary situations we view things in the light of their capacity to satisfy some local interests of the hour.

Fully dominated by these purely local concerns of life our intellect proceeds to draw up a well-defined scheme in which everything has its value assigned to it in relation to another and to our prevailing mode of interest. Whoever can, by his thoughts and actions, conform to this commonly accepted standard of values achieves success as a man of affairs in the world. But this very success in one direction blocks the prospects of success in another. To remain content with setting a fixed value upon a thing for which one would safely part with it, takes off all the incentive for realising a higher value. Where commercialism prevails, real art cannot prosper.

The real artist therefore refuses to be any party to the spirit of commercialism. What he values he values simply for itself and finds nothing for which this may be exchanged. And so of all men the artist alone stands for creating values in the absolute sense. But this obliges him to set himself ever in opposition to the spirit of practicalism which guides and controls the busy men of affairs of the world. To the artist life's real zest lies in emancipating himself from the smothering influences of the petty interests of the hour. He lives not for one moment, nor for himself alone. With wide extended vision and depth of sympathies he surveys life in its entirety. It is the whole life, and nothing short of the whole life that is real to him and that alone can satisfy him. And so in place of the detached, isolated interests of different moments, he craves to realise that one supreme interest which is continuous with the whole of life. Ordinary mortals fail to extend their sense of reality beyond the sphere of the "now" and "here" because they lack imagination and with that lack of imagination is connected the absence of fulness of sympathy which would enable them to feel the same fervour of enthusiasm for the invisible as for the visible. This is why we find their life reduced to a low level and their interests confined to a very narrow range. But when with the stirring of imagination, sympathy is born, the outlook on life gets completely changed. It assumes a new ultra-practical character. For such a life, the immediate has no more



value than the remote, the "here" has no greater compelling interest than the "hereafter." That which abides everywhere and always alone delights his mind. This is the supreme interest of which we spoke, and the striving of the spirit towards realising this supreme value of life constitutes the secret of the artist's personality. It is in this sense that the artist's life means a transvaluation of all values and the artist becomes the very embodiment of humanity.

Behind every work of art there stands a spirit to whom nothing appeals but the fulness of life. The realisation of this fulness of life cannot however be achieved in the ordinary course. It presupposes, as we have seen, a capacity for sympathy and imagination on one side, and a disposition to break loose from all tightening bonds of the flesh on the other. In all art there is therefore an element of sacrifice. The artist must prepare himself to give up everything which contributes to the passing enjoyment of the hour. This explains why the type of coarse sensualism that wins its way to popularity with the multitude can find no place in art. These reflections now give us a clue to the only foundation on which every form of art rests and from which it derives all the beauty and perfection of which it is capable. That foundation lies in will. Every artist is an incarnation of the will. There is an endeavour to free himself first from every grade of interest that presents itself with a local complexion. Rather he would forego everything than find himself enmeshed in these grovelling concerns of life. This is the "everlasting nay" of which Carlyle speaks. He would press it to the last, so that he may have a taste of the "everlasting yea." Yet we must not confuse the life of an artist with the life of an ascetic. For while the ascetic lives by negation, the artist's life is a continual striving after affirmation. While the former makes a virtue of complete renunciation, the latter rises above renunciation, and with full enthusiasm looks forward to the realisation of a life deeper and richer than any that can be conceived. This is due to the fact that the artist is a man of sympathy and imagination. Whoever has sympathy is in touch

with every aspect of life. It is that virtue in him whereby his very being is enlarged so much so that within the limited range of his individual frame he feels the throbbing animation of the whole world. Such a man belongs to no sect or community, nor can we fix him down to any age or clime. He is truly the man to whom humanity utters its wisdom.

Yet this sympathy which brings about such a revolution in the man is not a fixed readymade gift transplanted from afar. It presupposes imagination, but at the back of it there must be the will—a will that scorns to rest content with limited points of contact. It spurs the self to broaden its surface and extend its range of vision. Out of this inward surge is born the faith that the things with which it has no contact now and which escapes its vision at present are also as real, perhaps more, than the things of its immediate environment.

Every true artist is therefore the triumph of the will of the spirit towards its self-liberation. As art is an outcome of the will there is art wherever there is an exercise of the will-function. But the will-function constitutive of art must not be confused with that type which spends itself in the mere act of eating and drinking. Rather it is of the over-individual type, in which the individual in self-forgetfulness of all personal concerns, makes himself at one with the entire race of humanity. It is in living in the whole and for the whole that the beauty on the artist lies.

And so we shall acknowledge every striving of the soul as an artistic endeavour if only it embraces within it the broader interests of humanity as a whole. The endeavour of the scientist in the quest of truth, of the social worker struggling for man's emancipation are as much to be viewed as artistic creation as the achievement of poets or musicians. In every case we have what is distinctive of art, *viz.*, selfless devotion towards realisation of the highest forms of values of which humanity is capable. They all continue to give us, each in his own way, what is best in them and thereby make it possible to move onward for progress and perfection.

To every artist humanity owes a debt. But how can this debt be repaid? Should we raise statues, endow scholarships, group ourselves in parties named after him, or should we write out his biography? Society, no doubt, has adopted these and similar other methods. But we do not stop here only. In our schools and colleges we introduce his works for free discussion and study. Yet to me it seems, this is not the right method of showing our appreciation for an artist. For, in these cases we start on the supposition as if the artist has already finished with his work and left it to others for analysis and dissection. We consider the artist as already dead and gone so that the only thing remaining for us is to assemble together and pass a resolution of our appreciation of his struggles and achievements. Sometimes we also feel tempted to estimate his work commercially, or begin to intellectually contemplate the beauty and excellence of his creations. In short, what we do is mainly to stir up our intellect and view the artist as one accomplished historical event, fully dissociated from his work which constituted another accomplished event. But the pity is, when the artist gets separated from his work there is neither the artist nor any art but both metamorphosed into solid, lifeless entities. It is easy for the intellect to operate on such stable entities. But such objectification, though congenial to the intellectual apprehension, is killing the very soul of art. Art is the expression of the will-function in which the artist passes from an individual to an over-individual character. Every work of art is therefore a never-ending system of will-functions. It is never wholly finished, but demands realisation through a perpetual process. Whoever views art in this manner, acknowledges it as art. But the moment it is divested of the will-functions of the artist, there is neither the artist nor any art before us. Both are changed into brute facts of history.

The only way to fulfil our obligation to the artist, if we can talk of fulfilment at all,—lies in acknowledging the artist as organically related to his art. It is the realisation of the truth that the artist is in living union with his art that makes for our recog-

inition of art in its true perspective as art. Our homage to the artist is paid best if we can but keep the artist alive in the midst of his art. This is not only paying tribute to the artist, but is the only basis on which real artistic enjoyment rests.

But how should we keep him alive? Have we any magic wand by the touch of which we should infuse life into that frame which is already smitten with death? We know we have not. By the inexorable laws of fate we are, the high and low, all doomed to perish; and so we find ourselves heavy laden with grief that even the best of us have no chance to life eternal.

Life however demands that anyhow this grief be overcome. The easiest way that comes to our mind and gives us a sort of soft consolation is the thought that though the artist perishes, art remains. But soon it becomes plain that this is no consolation at all. For with the death of the artist escapes the inwardness of art. What remains is no longer any work of art, but the shrunken memory of a past historical event. Art does not lie in the bare fact that there *is* or *was* something, but always in the realisation of a value. It is akin, in a sense, to what we call a spiritual function demanding the continuous endeavour of a willing and sympathetic spirit. And so again the necessity is felt if we could somehow perpetuate the artist.

Our social ceremonies, historical researches, biographical studies and all those tombs, statues and monuments which we set up to commemorate the dead are nothing but the outpourings of this need. But even these fail of their effect. For once we accept the fact that the artist is mortal, there is no chance left of reviving him to life again. A dead man can never be recalled to life by piling upon him inert slabs of marble, nor showering heaps of glowing epithets.

To make him immortal the only effective way is not to let him die at all. As the artist by his over-individual will-attitudes makes himself a chosen representative of humanity, in fact, is identified with entire humanity, so in our way we should assume the will-attitudes whereby we might find our being engrafted in his.

That sympathy and imagination which brings the artist in touch with the fulness of life we should realise ourselves, so that we may be ever in contact with him. To live a life of artists ourselves is to immortalise the artist, and therewith his art. The true artist is really one who in willing himself into an artist, obliges others as well to move in the same line.

Unless we could so fashion our will as to change it from an individual to an over-individual character; unless we could impregnate it with the breadth of vision and depth of sympathies, characteristic of the artist; unless, in short, we could "will with the artist," and be imbued with his spirit, all our study of art is vain and our talk of paying tribute to the memory of the artist hollow.

Let us not then vaunt of our researches into the biographical obscurities of a Shakespeare or of a Socrates, let us not make a parade of our learning into the mysteries of the style and composition of a "Hamlet," let us not have the easy conscience that we have done our part by starting an Aristotelian society, or setting up a Homeric statue.

So long as our spirit is not in tune with the spirit of the artist all these are mere trivialities, more befitting an entomologist than any passionate lover of art. Real enjoyment of art demands that we make artists of ourselves first.

JITENDRA KUMAR CHAKRAVARTY

### FUTILITY

My golden dreams are turned to dust :  
My lotus flowers are fading fast :  
I only feel futility,  
For all my high, brave hopes are past,  
I would not live from day to day,  
Could I not gain a star at last.

MARION ISABEL ANGUS

## THE FLUTE OF KRISHNA

Hark to the flute notes  
Of Krishna, the Lover,  
He, the Beloved,  
Around whom we hover.

We be herdsmaidens  
Who dance in his sunshine :  
At his sweet embrace,  
Deep we drink of Love's Wine.

We be but seven,  
That mystical number :  
Attend our dancing :  
Ah ! yield not to slumber.

Spirit of Quiet  
Like breath of the roses  
Distills in his presence  
An essence uncloses.

Hear his wild fluting,  
Then harken and follow :  
Dance at his bidding,  
On Flowers in the Hollow.

Blooms the blue Lotus  
Under the Chenar Trees :  
Red poppies glimmer  
Like wide, lone, scarlet seas.

Wild roses clamber  
Like garlands of beauty  
Over cypress as  
With cones, dark and fruity.

The Jasmine's scented  
His Breath is its fragrance :  
Oleanders gleam  
With white star-like semblance.

Hark to his music  
Crystal sweet and so clear !  
Drawing to ecstasy  
And casting out fear.

Cool as a rain-drop,  
Yet luring your heart-strings,  
Krishna is fluting  
With sweet Music that stings.

Krishna, the Lover,  
Is sending a message  
Dreams of the universe  
That Peace doth presage.

Past confines of thought  
Lies the Reality :  
Pierce all deceptions  
Of materiality.

Follow his flute notes,  
Give thy body and soul :  
Attain steadfast calm,  
And stint not thy heart's dole.

Hark to the music  
Of Krishna, the Lover,  
He, the Beloved,  
Around whom we hover.

MARION ISABEL ANGUS

## THE BENGAL LAND-HOLDER—SUB-DIVISION, FRAGMENTATION AND SUB-INFEUDATION

### III

From the point of view of production, we are concerned, not with the unit of ownership, but with the unit of cultivation. We have seen that according to the Census of 1921, there is only 2·21 acres of land for every actual worker in cultivation. It is a question of grave importance, whether the small unit of cultivation gives the best possible scope for the most economic way of production from the social point of view.

It is obvious that very small holdings stand on the way not only of progressive agriculture as it is understood in the modern world, but also of the full utilisation of the methods used in India. He cannot, for instance, maintain and fully utilise reasonably good working cattle and suitable implements. In Jessore 10·4 gross acres of land is available for each plough and 8·2 acres for a pair of plough cattle. Taking into consideration the proportion of the total cultivated area under the various crops and the number of times land under the different crops need ploughing, it has been estimated that there is only 5 months 6 days' work for the cattle and the plough during the whole year including 1 month and 6 days for harrowing, though the ploughing season is from October to May—8 months. Things are very much the same in other districts as will be found from the following table<sup>1</sup> :—

District	Quantity of cultivated land per plough.	Quantity of cultivated land per pair of plough cattle.
Jessore	10·4	8·2
Faridpur	10·8	9·4
Midnapur	8·3	12·4
Mymensing	8·1	8·8
Bakerganj	11·5	7·4

<sup>1</sup> Jessore Settlement Report, p. 22.



It is also apparent that it is not possible for the small cultivator to carry on necessary improvements such as general (surface) drainage and properly aligned irrigation channels. But what is most injurious is that with his small means and limited land he is bound to carry on cultivation according to the primitive methods which have been employed for centuries. This simple technique might have been suitable under primitive conditions for extensive cultivation, coupled with pastoral pursuits when land was plenty. But it certainly stands in the way of the adoption of modern methods by which alone land may be made to yield up to its full productive capacity. It is sometimes erroneously supposed that small holdings are beneficial in so far as they mean intensive cultivation. But the intensity of cultivation which has resulted from small holdings, in Bengal, is not due to the greater utilisation of labour and capital, according as the margin of their profitable application is determined by the general conditions of the industry ; but rather, the interplay of economic forces has been hampered and circumscribed by the peculiar conditions of the individual cultivator. In Bengal, with the growth of population there has been a greater application of labour than in proportion to capital which can be applied to small holdings ; because having no other alternative employment for his labour the cultivator was faced with the alternative of putting it in land or wasting it. Thus there has been not only diminishing return from the application of capital and labour, but the marginal return from labour which is used in undue proportion is low and insufficient. The cultivator continues in doing so because, under his present circumstances, he cannot afford to appraise his labour on a proper scale. This also gives the explanation why bargadars cultivate on a half-produce basis though the profits from cultivation is so low compared to expenses. They have no alternate means of livelihood ; and are prepared to work for whatever they get over and above the prime costs (seed, manure, upkeep of cattle etc.). Their initial disadvantage has been perpetuated

by circumstances into permanent degradation. To describe such a result as beneficial to the community is a grave mistake. It only shows that the great industry of agriculture in Bengal is not conducted on economic lines ; people do not adopt it as a real profession or business concern, but stick to it as the only available hereditary occupation.

Comparison with conditions in Western countries brings in the situation in striking contrast. The following are comparative figures (in acres) about the size of holding in some of the European countries<sup>1</sup> :—

	Including holdings of less than one acre.	Excluding holdings of less than one acre.
Belgium	5·7	14·5
France	15·05	24
Germany	19·25	33·5 (Prussia only)
Denmark	35·59	49
England	26·95	70
Scotland	56·31	57
Wales	38·05	62

According to the Census of 1921, in Bengal, there is one hired labourer on the land to every five who cultivate their own land. In Eastern Bengal districts (Dacca and Chittagong Divisions), there is one hired labourer to eight ordinary cultivators. The Report points out that in 1911, in England and Wales there were well over three hired labourers to every farmer, *i.e.*, cultivator of his own land ; and in 1851, before labour-saving devices had been invented so much, there were nearly 6 workers to every farmer. It should be remembered that the number of labourers employed by the ordinary cultivators in Bengal is still smaller because many of these are employed by landlords and middlemen who often keep some land near their

<sup>1</sup> Bowntree—Land and labour, lessons from Belgium, p. 106.

home under their own management, and by disabled cultivators, widows and minors, etc.

It is no wonder that even with a fertile soil, comparatively favourable weather conditions, a monopoly in jute and a ready market for his goods, the hard-working cultivator still groans in poverty and abject misery. Poetic appeals are sometimes made about the beauties of the life of a peasant-proprietor. But it is time we recognise that agriculture must be treated as an industry, not merely a hereditary occupation; that it must be organised on economic lines, and, most important of all, that it is the large farm only which has scope for capital, labour-saving machinery, intelligence and skilled direction.

#### IV

Fragmentation, on the face of it, accentuates all the evils of small-holdings; because it makes the unit of cultivation still smaller. But it gives rise to other evils also. His land being in scattered plots the cultivator cannot have anything like a home farm, but has to live in the village away from his fields. This entails a great waste of time, labour and cattle-power, owing to the necessity of carting manure and bringing cattle and agricultural implements from the village to the fields and back. The same waste is also involved in moving these from field to field owing to the scattered nature of the plots. Incidentally it may be pointed out that few convenient pathways exist in the villages, and the cultivator has to pass through other people's fields. It has been estimated that expenditure on cultivation increases by 5·3 per cent. for every 500 metres of distance for manual labour and ploughing, from 20 to 35 per cent. for transport of manure, and from 15 to 32 per cent. for transport of crops. The net yield of a field therefore diminishes with the increase of its distance from the village and from other fields.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Baroda, Bulletin No. 6, dated 30th June, 1911, referred to in the Report on consolidation of holdings in U. P. by Pandit Shyam Bihari Misra.

It should be remembered that the crop wants watching when ripe ; much of it is neglected now because of the extra cost involved in keeping watch in several places. It is more than probable, that if all fields were in one block, much petty corn thefts would have been avoided on the one hand, and boundary disputes lessened to a great extent on the other.

There is also great waste owing to the erection of *ails* and boundaries much of which would be unnecessary but for excessive fragmentation ; and sometimes fragmentation proceeds so far that the plots become useless for agricultural purposes. " In the Punjab the results of consolidation indicate that five per cent. of the land which would normally be cultivated is lying useless owing to fragmentation being so excessive as to prevent any agricultural operations, while another one per cent. is lost in boundaries which could be abolished on consolidation."<sup>1</sup> In Bengal the evil is much more pronounced and the waste is certainly not less. It should be remembered that every unnecessary waste adds to the cost of production and hits not only the cultivator but also the general consumer and industry which uses agricultural products as raw material. The only advantage which has been claimed for fragmentation is that where cultivation is subject to the uncertainties of rainfall, the distribution of holdings in different soil areas may work as a practical insurance against risk. That is why in some parts two or more crops are grown in dispersed fields in different soil areas, so that if unfavourable distribution of rainfall destroys one crop the other may yield a good harvest. But this consideration is not of much practical importance in Bengal. The cultivators' plots though dispersed, are mostly situated in the same village or neighbouring villages, and have mostly the same soil conditions. In any case, there can be no doubt, that except in these rare cases fragmentation is an unmixed evil.

*(To be continued.)*

J. C. GHOSH

<sup>1</sup> Report of Royal Commission of Agriculture in India, p. 184.

## REALISM AND HUMOUR IN MUSIC

The bare mention of cats being represented in musical sounds is at once interesting and amusing, and perhaps it will also sound ridiculous to a number of us. But the celebrated Scarlatti once wrote a "Cats Fugue" in which the feline association lay in the fact that the 'subject' had been suggested by a cat walking along the keys of an harpsichord, a proceeding of which cats are rather fond. We have also a similar incident portrayed in a modern Jazz pianoforte composition "Kitten on the Keys."

Stravinsky also found inspiration (?) in the pathetic 'meow' of pussy, but even he has failed to evolve anything representative of our friend the dog, unlike Chopin, of whom it is said, one of his best known compositions, a valse, was suggested by the gyrations of a puppy in pursuit of its tail! The great Rossini too, we are told, also composed a piece of music in memory of a dead poodle.

Camille Saint-Saens composed for the orchestra a "Danse Macabre" in which he attempts to portray a skeleton dancing on a tombstone. Xylophones are used to indicate the rattle of the bones against the marble slab covering the grave. The skeleton can only stay out of the tomb until daybreak; immediately the first cock crows at dawn back he goes into his tomb the stone of which is clapped to over him in a jiffy, all of which is graphically illustrated by the various instruments of the orchestra.

The theme of horses in motion seems to have appealed to a large number of composers. A splendid instance of its use lies in that portion of Wagner's Walkure known as the "Ride of the Valkyries." In his treatment of this composition the composer has reproduced with remarkable fidelity the neighing of horses, sounds of galloping hoof-beats, and

the impetuous progress of a company of riders. Another famous man to adopt this theme was the famous Russian composer Tschaikowsky who set himself the difficult task of writing a composition for the pianoforte with the troika as its 'motif.' Now the troika is a Russian vehicle to which three horses are harnessed in a single span. The middle horse which is in the shafts, trots, whilst the other two, hitched to either side, gallop. The remarkable rhythm created in this way is most faithfully reproduced in the composition, although I am bound to say, it is by no means an easy one to perform on the piano.

The labouring of a ship in heavy seas provided a theme for the fertile imagination of Rimsky-Korsakoff, another noted Russian composer, in his famous "Scherezade Suite." The orchestra accompanies Sindbad the Sailor upon one of his perilous journeys. The storm at sea, as indicated by the orchestra, is a marvel of orchestration, for the wind, imitated by the reed instruments, is most realistic in its intensity. At length when the doomed vessel is at last sent to its destruction amidst a crashing of drums and cymbals, every instrumentalist, from the first violin player to the triangle player, is bathed in perspiration, whilst the conductor shares the fate of the ship—he is an utter wreck.

It is not often that the orchestra is called upon to produce laughter as is the case in the third act of Gonoud's *Faust*. Mephistopheles proffers the sweet Marguerite an ironical serenade interspersed with laughter that is echoed by the orchestra in the true Mephistophelian fashion.

An amusing instance of musical illustration occurs in the first act of Puccini's "*La Boheme*," where three of the characters grope their way downstairs from an attic studio. They stumble and swear in the darkness, but eventually reach the street safely. The hazardous descent of each flight is cleverly suggested by the orchestra, one last profound note signaling their safe arrival.

These are but a few instances in which eminent musicians have endeavoured to make their orchestras laugh, neigh, weep, gallop, and even imitate cats and dogs. But it remained for Mendelssohn to make his orchestra bray like an ass. This he does in the incidental music to Shakespeare's "Midsummer Night's Dream." The phrase typifies Bully Bottom whose head is changed by the sportive Puck into that of a donkey.

Flickering tongues of flame inspired the *Feur-Zauber* music of the Walkure, and although, of course, the suggestion of flickering tongues of flame is less evident in the pianoforte arrangement of the score, judicious orchestration has enabled Richard Wagner to give us a very realistic version of his subject.

Tremendous imaginative powers and skill are necessary to write such music as I have set out to describe above, and quite apart from the amusement that is given by the performance of these compositions, there is a technical interest that is thoroughly exploited by musicians of all degrees, whilst the examples we have before us prove that there is no valid reason why dramatic material of all descriptions should not be interpreted musically.

The art of music possesses a living soul which readily adapts itself to any and every changing condition.

LELAND J. BERRY

## HISTORY OF TAXATION OF SALT UNDER THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

### WESTERN OR UPPER PROVINCES.

We shall now pass on to other tracts up in Northern India which the Company had meanwhile obtained possession of and which, under the name of Western Provinces, formed part of the Bengal Presidency.

Over the entire face of this country the earth was more or less impregnated with salt. It can hardly be said therefore that the area had an inadequate supply. But the indigenous thing was an inferior stuff and better salt could be imported in great abundance from the neighbouring areas at fairly cheap prices.

The Government, to speak generally, was almost from the beginning actuated by a motive to suppress the local manufacture. For, to raise a revenue from it when it would be spread over thousands of square miles would require "an army to watch it."<sup>1</sup> The country was thus made to depend more [and more on outside sources of supply. Hence the salt tax in this part of the Presidency primarily took the form of an import duty along its frontiers and the local history of the tax was more or less intimately connected with the history of the development of the country's customs policy.

The circumstances how the different parts of the Western Provinces were subjoined at different intervals are quite well-known to every student of Indian history and need no repetition here. In the first stage, even in the incipient state of the province, the Company had assumed the monopoly of import and manufacture of salt within its occupied area. But it was

<sup>1</sup> See Evidence of Wigvam Money, before Select Committee on Indian Finance, 1871-4, —his reply to Q. No. 4840.



in 1803 that the action was legalised and confirmed by a regulation.

In the same year the first regulation for the collection of customs tax was passed by which all articles of merchandise with a few exceptions were subjected to an import duty of 5% *ad valorem* and an additional duty of two and half per cent. (or in all 7½%) on exportation. These duties on imports and exports merely were meant more as substitutes for the vexatious sayer and transit duties than as an additional source of revenue.

Shortly afterwards the "conquered provinces" were won from the Maharattas and in view of this further accession of territories, the Government considered it inexpedient to retain its exclusive privilege in salt. Accordingly regulations were passed in 1804 which threw open the trade in that article and at the same time made it liable for a local duty of 12*as.* per maund on importation and 4*as.* a maund on exportation.

In 1804 the customs regulation of the year 1803 was also revised and amended. The transit duties were revived on salt as on one of a number of 90 articles. The rates of duty prescribed by the former regulation remained unaltered but salt was exempted from the export duty. Steps were also taken for improvement in the administration of this branch of revenue.

It was a cherished object of the Government to extend in this part the use and consumption of Bengal salt so that it might gain in revenue. But to impose the requisite duty on the cheap Western salt in order to confer upon its own a preferential advantage was out of the question. For, it would encourage smuggling on an extensive measure that was impossible to guard. To establish its control over the import, the Government in 1805 attempted as the other alternative the introduction of a monopoly of the Western salt but the effort failed totally.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Evidence of Tucker, before Select Committee, 1831-32., his reply to Qs. Nos. 557-559.

In 1805 the bazar and ganj duties were also abolished and town duties were substituted in their place. A town duty of 4% *ad valorem* was fixed for all commodities except alimentary salt and two or three other commodities which were taxed at a slightly lower rate.

The net consequence of all these changes was a considerable enhancement of the burden that one was asked to bear on account of one's consumption of salt. Unfortunately however the tax imposed by the Government was not the whole of the burden. A very heavy tax was in addition imposed in the shape of delay and illicit exactions of the customs officers of the Government.

The evils of the customs line loudly cried for redress.<sup>1</sup> A Committee of Finance convened in 1808 considered among other things the above question. On the basis of the recommendations submitted by the Committee an important regulation was passed in 1810 (Regulation IX of 1810). The customs department was reformed and a scale of transit duties adopted on alimentary salt that varied according to its quality and denomination. About the same time most of the articles that were assessable to both customs and town duties were freed from the latter. But alimentary salt together with a few other commodities continued subject to both customs and town duties (Regulation X of 1810 on town duties).<sup>2</sup>

Before the year was out, a fresh change was made. In lieu of the duties imposed by the previous regulation, altered rates of duty so as to make the better kinds pay a heavier charge were levied "on all salt, not being salt

<sup>1</sup> The evils continued long inspite of repeated improvements of customs administration. Even in 1834 Sir Charles Trevelyan had occasion to remark in course of his famous report (p. 46). "The universal power of search and detention constitutes a universal tax upon every person and everything which moves from place to place in the country."

<sup>2</sup> The following were the rates of transit duties chargeable by Regulation IX of 1810 on the different descriptions of alimentary salt, used in Benares and the more western parts of the Company's territory and of town duties, chargeable by Regulation X of 1810, on importation of alimentary salt into the city of Benares and into the towns of Agra,

purchased at the Company's sales in Calcutta, whether the produce of the British territories or of any foreign state, on the importation of such salt into or on the transportation of such salt through any part of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, and on the importation of such salt, which may not have previously paid the established duty, into the province of Benares" (Regulation XVII of 1810).<sup>1</sup> At the same time the law against illicit importation was made somewhat more stringent.

### MADRAS.

We shall next turn our eyes to Southern India where too the English were steadily consolidating their power. It is however well-known that it was only after the overthrow of Haidar Ali in 1792 and more especially after the fatal defeat of Tippu in 1799 that they had obtained a sufficiently firm footing in the South and had acquired extensive territories on the

Furrackabad, Allahabad, Barriely, Mirzapure, Gorakhpur, Banda, Cawnpore, Mynepore, Cost, Moradabad and Meerut.

Description of salt.	Transit duty per Maund.	Town duty per Maund.
Lahore salt	... Re. 1	Re. 1
Sambur } Doodwanee }	... As. 12	As. 8
Balumba	... As. 8	
Salumba, Furrak, Boraree or any other alimentary salt excepting salt pur- chased at Company's sales in Calcutta. }	... As. 4	As. 4
Salt purchased at Company's sales in Calcutta.	... nil	nil

<sup>1</sup> The altered rates of duty were as shown in the following schedule:—

Description of salt.	Duty per Md.
Lahorees, Sambur, Doodwanee	... Re. 1
Balumba, Boraree	... As. 12
Salumba, Furrak	... As. 8
On other sorts of alimentary salt, excepting salt purchased at the Com- pany's sales in Calcutta	... As. 4
Salt purchased at Company's sales in Calcutta	... nil.

Coromandal Coast. So it was not till then that they could bestow proper attention on problems of internal administration which their preoccupations in war and a certain amount of sense of insecurity had prevented.<sup>1</sup>

In 1798 the Supreme Government invited the opinions of the Governor in Council of Madras as to the desirability of extending to that area the reformed judicial and revenue systems that had been introduced in Bengal by Lord Cornwallis. The Board of Revenue, to which the subject was referred by the Local Government, submitted a very comprehensive report on the subject<sup>2</sup> in course of which it drew the attention of the Government to the possibility of deriving a large revenue from taxation of salt. The Board urged the adoption of the tax in order that a considerable, if not the greatest, part of the increased expenses arising from the introduction of the reformed judicial system might be met therefrom. With the example of Bengal before it, it naturally suggested the introduction of monopoly for the purpose and proposed a monopoly price of Rs. 105 per garce,<sup>3</sup> which, in accordance with its own estimate of an average consumption of 12 lbs. for each individual, involved a tax of about 2 *as.* per head. It further pointed out how it was possible to develop a very profitable and extensive export trade to Bengal where salt was naturally dear. Previously in 1795 the Board had initiated an inquiry into the matter and had furnished itself with all such necessary information.

The proposal of the Board was not however without its difficulties. At that date the only salt producing area of the Company in the Madras Presidency was the Northern Circars.

<sup>1</sup> "The annihilation of the late hostile power of Mysore has impressed the inhabitants of those possessions with that confidence in the stability of the British power, and in the security of the country from foreign invasion, which was indispensably necessary to the establishment of any regular system of Government." Letter from the Governor-General in Council at Fort William to the Governor in Council at Fort St. George, dated 31st December, 1799.

<sup>2</sup> 2nd September, 1799.

<sup>3</sup> A garce is equal to 120 Indian Maunds.

Both manufacture and sale of salt were free in the neighbouring kingdoms of Tanjore and the Carnatic. The success of a monopoly within the Company's territory was therefore problematical.

The Supreme Government, after consideration of the above report, did not commit themselves definitely, so far as the particular question went, but merely empowered the local authorities to reserve for the Government the sole right of manufacture, while concluding the proposed permanent settlement in the Northern Circars. They did not however favour the Board's idea of developing an export trade from Madras to Bengal lest it should prejudicially affect the large revenue realized with so much facility in the latter country.

When therefore the Permanent Settlement was extended into the Northern Circars between 1802 and 1805, the Government reserved, on its own account, the sole right to manufacture salt in those areas. In the meantime, as the result of fresh annexations, the English obtained possession of the entire sea coast that was available for the manufacture of salt. One of the chief obstacles in the way of monopoly was thus removed.

For some time more it was still debated if monopoly or excise would be preferable. At last, after consulting the opinions of the Collectors of salt districts, the Board of Revenue, subject to one dissentient note, decided in favour of excise against monopoly recommended by a former Board and prepared a draft accordingly. The introduction of monopoly, in their opinion, bristled with many practical difficulties.<sup>1</sup> It

they said, encroach upon the rights of Meerashidars (the occupants of the soil) and much difficulty would be attending the adjusting of fair compensations to them. Their opinion, presented a further difficulty since it was not possible to prohibit the import of salt from

foreign lands which had the privilege of exporting the article guaranteed by treaty or otherwise.

The dissentient advocated monopoly. In his opinion the Meerashidars had no more inherent rights to the soil than the Zemindars, who had already been deprived of the right. Further, to plead political difficulty on the score of guaranteed rights of trade was, he argued, idle for the only privilege of the kind was granted to the French by the treaty of Paris (1763) for importing into and vading in a definite quantity of salt in Bengal. Moreover it was only necessary to impose a frontier duty to remove whatever difficulty might exist.<sup>1</sup>

The Madras Government however approved of the plan for monopoly, not on its own merits but on the misapprehended ground that the question was already decided by the Supreme Government in favour of monopoly and was therefore no longer an open one.<sup>2</sup>

Be that as it may, the regulation was passed in 1805 by virtue of which a monopoly was established throughout the Presidency with the exception of Malabar and Canara. Instead of a frontier duty being levied, importation of salt into the Presidency by sea or land was altogether prohibited.

Previous to this innovation salt was supplied from different sources chiefly by private enterprise. The sources of supply were briefly the following.

In the first place salt was produced in certain localities along the line of the sea coast by the process of solar evaporation. The cost of manufacture was so low, that in the words of a member of the Board of Revenue of the time, it was not much more valuable than sand. The cost varied from district to district within the range of less than an anna at the lowest and a little more than 2 annas at the highest. Secondly, salt, very white in colour and of peculiarly fine crystals, was spontaneously

<sup>1</sup> Falconar's Minute, June 28, 1804.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from the Secretary to the Government of Madras to the President and Members of the Board of Revenue, dated August 29, 1804.

produced in large quantities in many districts especially in Tanjore and Musalipattam. It could be collected to any amount at the trifling cost of about  $\frac{1}{2}$  anna per maund and in the districts specially mentioned for even less than one-fourth of an anna. Lastly, in almost every inland district but more especially in areas that were far off from the sea coast salt was manufactured in comparatively small quantities by the process of lixiviating saline earth.

For the sake of completeness it must also be said that there were even then some Government works as well that contributed towards the total stock of supply. These works were either formed out or managed by the Government themselves. The paltry sum of Rs. 2,80,000, that represented the average gross annual revenue derived from the works during the five years prior to the monopoly, almost surely indicates the comparative insignificance of Government supply. But even the comparatively insignificant supply was far in excess of local needs and the Government very often found it difficult to dispose of the surplus.<sup>1</sup> The profits of the salt farms were very little for the commodity was so little valuable that the salt farms produced little or nothing.<sup>2</sup>

With the introduction of monopoly the individual's right to manufacture on his own account came to an end. Manufacture was henceforward to be conducted exclusively on account of the Government in localities determined by it. The public officers would, in anticipation of the probable demand, fix the

<sup>1</sup> "The salt farm at Mazulipatam is one of the most considerable under the management of the Chief and Council, the produce of that article greatly exceeds the consumption.....etc." Letter from the Madras Government to the Court of Directors, November 5, 1767. In the same year in July we find the Madras Government requesting the Bengal Government to purchase the former's large quantities of surplus salt and the latter refusing it on the ground that "double the tonnage usually employed in the trade of the two Presidencies would be insufficient to bring down the quantity mentioned." Letter of the 20th July, 1767.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Alexander, before Committee on East India affairs, 1830-31, Q. 1683.

quantity to be produced in each year and would accordingly allot the pans among the individual manufacturers. The manufacturers would only receive a fixed price for the amount produced, and the Government would themselves dispose of the products from their own depots, situated in most cases near the pans, at a fixed price and in small quantities of one and a half maunds and even of twelve seers in some districts. The monopoly price fixed by the regulation of 1805 was Rs. 70 per garce.

From the most authentic estimate extant, the price at the pans before the introduction of monopoly was about Rs. 21 per garce. It may therefore be presumed that the new measure inflicted upon the people the burden of a tax roughly equivalent to Rs. 50 per garce or nearly 7 annas per maund. Thus Madras had wisely avoided Bengal's mistakes. It sold in quantities well within the means of the pettiest trader—a policy that was, as mentioned out elsewhere, most effective against oppressive combinations. It adopted a tax that was virtually definite and, on the whole, moderate; at least it was much less than what prevailed in Bengal. No doubt the moderation of the tax was partly to be ascribed to the natural impracticability of rendering it high; because from the natural cheapness of the commodity any considerable levy in the province was sure to act as a higher bonus to smuggling.

The acquisition of the monopoly went hand in hand with the artificial limitation of the sources of supply and diversion of the industry from its most profitable channels. In the first place, the Government, with a view to economising the expenses of establishments and guarding against risks of smuggling, had to follow a policy of concentration in regard to places of manufacture along the sea coast. Secondly, since swamp salt was open to great facilities for smuggling, the Government, in the interest of its own monopoly, pursued a dog-in-the-manger policy. People were forced to destroy swamp salt whenever it was to be found and it was one of the functions of the salt police



to enforce that.<sup>1</sup> Then again the licit manufacture of earth salt was altogether stopped since the Government found it an expensive, nay a well-nigh impossible affair, to watch over its production carried on, on a very small scale, scattered over a wide range of territory. Exceptions were however made with regard to the districts of Bellary, Cudappah and Kurnool (after its acquisition in 1838-39) where, in consideration of their location far away from the sea coast, the manufacture of earth salt was permitted, subject to the payment of a light motumpya tax.

In 1807 Canara and Malabar, the two districts at first left out, were brought within the pale of monopoly. The arrangement here was a little different from that of the rest of the province.<sup>2</sup> Manufacture continued to be free but the manufacturer was deprived of the right to dispose of his product to any but the Government.

Canara and Malabar, especially the latter, were not self-sufficient with regard to their supply of salt. The Government used to bring imported salt on indent in aid of the home supply. Malabar, which had no facilities for the production of salt at a moderate price, very soon gave up its manufacture, unable to stand the competition of imported salt. Its need was since supplied by the Government with salt imported on account of its monopoly from Goa till 1838 and then from Bombay exclusively owing to the failure of the former country to keep up a regular supply.

A fresh change was made in the salt regulation of the country in 1809 when the Government, on the recommendation of the Board of Revenue, increased the sale price of salt to Rs. 105 per garce.

*(To be continued.)*

PARIMAL RAY

<sup>1</sup> See evidence of Peter Gordon before the Select Committee, 1891, his answer to Q. 449.

<sup>2</sup> The reason for this difference would be obvious from the following passage: "Both in Canara and Malabar landed property is on a different footing to what it has been considered to be in the other territories, subject to this Presidency. There the greater part of the salt pans is and for a long series of time has been deemed to be the hereditary property of the Jellenkera or native land-holders." From Falconar's Minutes already referred to.

## THE PROBLEM OF PURUṢOTTAMA IN THE GĪTĀ

They say : Philosophy and its outlook are not different—the ontology is repeated subjectivity only in a new context and new climate. The standpoint is more often and rightly the determining life-force of philosophical research than the individuality and essence of the 'onta.' The philosopher retorts : " But however much the human enterprise or the impulse of wonder be the indispensable subjective element in all speculation, speculation of the scientific type seeks to overreach the limitations of subjectivity by way of an approach to the very core of reality. Philosophy in order to be universal in its scope cannot be less than or more than objective and impersonal.

The 'Philosophic doubts,' with which however the speculative life starts on its career, also stifle it, at the very root. What do we mean by the objectivity and impersonalism of philosophical reasoning and philosophical conclusion? What guarantees the certainty of objectivity? Or, is it mere 'standpoint' that yields different philosophies and not a philosophy? These are the issues that lead up to the problem of Puruṣottama — the highest Puruṣa. Is he an Absolute Substance to whom no characters can be ascribed, who only reveals himself to recipients in exact proportion to their capacity to receive. Or, is not he the 'Deity' whom the higher and still higher conscious beings—the hierarchy of evolutes in the 'pyramid' of evolution—create and recreate, make and evolve along with their own development and progress? Is not Puruṣottama developed and developing out of the poetic, the ethical and the religious idealism of the collective mentality of mankind? These are the relevant problems connected with the hypothesis of Puruṣottama in the Bhagavadgītā to which we propose to address ourselves. The probable answers may be thus sketched : first, that the Puruṣottama is beyond subjective idealism and the only absolutely independent reality; secondly, that he is

objectively ultimate and yet reveals immanently to men and the universe; and lastly, that he is the highest person—Man to all intents and purposes—an Ideal man who is also actual, who combines in himself the guṇas harmoniously and yet not exhausted by them. These solutions answer to the corresponding doctrines of the Nirguṇa, the Saṅguṇa and the Incarnation, or the Absolute, the Spirit and the Son of God. The second and the third solutions have often been mixed up in one concrete concept of the One who is vyaktimāpanna and still avyakta, the incarnation but the Incarnation of the Absolute, the real that is not unmanifested but a concrete universal. The pivot upon which the entire problem turns is the determination of the rightful claim of the Puruṣottama either upon impersonalism or personalism. Is not the supreme Brahman what the Gītā reaffirms as the Puruṣottama?—asks the Advaita Vedāntist. Why, the Puruṣottama is none other than Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa himself, objects the Vaiṣṇavite.

But it may be that Kṛṣṇa is nothing more than a symbol, an imaginary representation, a pictorial truth or 'the Mythus.' The probability of an allegorical explanation is not altogether utopian. Kṛṣṇa may very aptly be conceived as standing for 'the voice of God' delivering his redeeming message unto Arjuna, the 'representative man' in a state of 'dark night of the soul,' i.e., in the battle of Kurukṣetra. Symbolic representation of highly complex metaphysical truths characterises a large literature of the Hindus; and it is not an irrelevant assumption if a historian of Hindu thought throws doubt upon the historicity of the characters of the Gītā and brings out a theory of interpolation of the entire Gītā into the body of the Mahābhārata. The apology for a new theory rests possibly on the new rôle of an interpreter of spiritual mysticism that Kṛṣṇa takes thus breaking the unity of his character. Himself a combatant in early life and youth, in the early parts of the Mahābhārata, he is in the Gītā a philosophical inspirer of a spiritual fight. Unless we believed in the theory of a multiple

personality of the great Indian hero, we had to be satisfied with only one purview of his life. Looming large in the horizon of the appreciative consciousness of every Hindu mind, it is not abnormal that Kṛṣṇa is now and again and ever appealed to. The drama of thought that forms the life-history of an individual mind is retouched in the light of a real perfection, and the idealistic-imaginative part of it is assigned to Kṛṣṇa. To a historian, Platonic Socrates is to a great extent Plato himself and is a symbol for a truly faithful Platonic pedagogue. To the student of Hindu culture too, Kṛṣṇa is a common proxy for very many geniuses of thought and action who denied themselves in their unselfish zeal for accentuating the excellence of this personality, each adding a new perspective of glory to the already accumulated multiple-phases of his character. However much is the personality of Kṛṣṇa proved to be historical, the impersonalism of his message of harmony and strength is unquestioned.

The objector is still unsatisfied. He leans upon a purely philosophical interpretation of an impersonal and unresponsive Real. He marshals his arguments thus : It is not unlikely that the verses XVI-XVIII of Chapter XV of the Gītā, which make for a novel doctrine of a third Puruṣa called the Puruṣottama besides the Kṣara and the Akṣara Puruṣas that are generally accepted as the only possible duality of aspects of the One and the Supreme, are Vaiṣṇavite interpolations ; because the mention of a Third Puruṣa as the highest is redundant and irrelevant in the face of the Akṣara Puruṣa which is already the *ens perfectissimum* and than which nothing more is rationally conceivable.

The proposition of the Gītā itself in an earlier reference is that the Akṣara, i.e., the Imperishable is the supreme Brahman **अक्षरं ब्रह्म परमं**. Hence the assertion of another Supreme Puruṣa, the Puruṣottama is contradictory and is probably motivated by the Vaiṣṇavite idea of the exaltation of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa at the expense of the Impersonal Brahman.

The Concept of Puruṣottama could however be admitted if an archaic use of the term Akṣara meaning 'māyādhīśa' or the

controller of the universe be revived in the philosophical vocabulary; for then the *Puruṣottama* could be equated to the highest conceivable spiritual status, *viz.*, *Turiya*, unapproachable to, though implied by, the *Akṣara*. But the issue cannot be prejudged, as the proposition कूटस्थोऽक्षर उच्यते defines precisely the concept of *Akṣara* as identical with *Kūṭastha*, *i.e.*, immovable *Paramātman* or *Brahman*.

The hasty and unrevised interpolation is further warranted by a false statement of fact in the verse XVIII: "I am celebrated therefore as *Puruṣottama* both popularly and in the *Veda*," says *Kṛṣṇa* and thus lets the historicity of his utterance belie itself. Nowhere, in the whole range of the twelve significant *Upaniṣads*, does the term *Puruṣottama* occur. The truth is that among the hundred names that *Kṛṣṇa* bears, the one *Puruṣottama* is specifically valued by the *Vaiṣṇavas*; and it is to their achievement that the doctrine of the *Puruṣottama* will ever trace its origin and upkeep.

The heralding of an interpolation theory is thus the main objective of the above view—let us say, the view of the *Pūrvapakṣa* which furnishes further the background of the corollary view that after all *Puruṣottama* is a mythical being, spun out of the spiritual idealism of the devotee and has no corresponding objectivity besides being shown identical with the *Akṣara Puruṣa* for the sake of logical consistency. The doctrine of the Three *Puruṣas* (Chap. XV) therefore has no justification for acceptance, inasmuch as it has no adequate ground-work to be built upon. The *Uttarapakṣa* however takes all this to be an upstart doctrine vitiated right through with defects accruing from sectarian motives—motives that are individual and subjective and not those which ought to be over-individual and objective in order to be philosophical. What in a purely philosophical enquiry forms the well-defined desideratum is a critique of *pure reason* unalloyed by ethical and religious elements.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bertrand Russell's 'Mysticism and Logic' and 'Scientific Method in Philosophy.'

True. But a philosophical outlook, which is ruled by the virtues of disinterestedness, freedom from passions or the Idolas, is virtually *religionised* by these very spiritual traits which a religious discipline can only produce. So the religion of philosophy is something distinct and other than the philosophy of religion. What the latter vouches for directly is emphatically a 'responsiveness'<sup>1</sup> from the side of the religious subject seeking a communion with a being or beings, also, in all probability responsive; the former, on the contrary, steers clear of all subjective responsiveness and directs all its researches to the singular determination of the nature and content of the 'reality'. It is upon this basis of what may be regarded as the *religion of philosophy* that the *Uttarapakṣa* contention is made out. The thesis that next we propose to set forth in contra-distinction to the Vaiṣṇavite one is in character Vedāntic, even to the extent of Śaṅkara's interpretation, also tangentially referring to the extremism of Advaita Vedānta. So the arguments of the *Pūrvapakṣa* are first subjected to a searching criticism.

It is true that philosophy is more or less a science of terms. When a particular phenomenon is to be indicated the proper term must be used; and the relation between different terms is to be determined in order to avoid a criss-crossing of their use. Akṣara is, indeed, in an earlier reference identified with the Brahman supreme; but this need not insure that the denotation of the term Akṣara shall ever remain the same. In another context in the Gītā itself Brahman is identified with योनिर्महत् i.e., Prakṛti of the Sāṃkhya. Does the Gītā therefore propound conflicting doctrines? The Gītā in fact abounds in similar instances. The term Ātman is differently used as sense-centre, mind, intellect, empirical individual and transcendental

<sup>1</sup> While Pratt in his '*Religious Consciousness*' emphasises the 'subjective response' of the spiritual relation, Valentine finds an objective responsiveness equally characteristic of it (*What do we mean by God?*).

self. Jīva, to take another example, is described in multi-form ways: as part, superior prakṛti, knower of body or nature and supreme self ( *चेशः, परा प्रकृतिः, चैतनः, परमात्मा* ). Take another term Yajña. This is used as an universal admitting in different associations, concrete exemplifications with distinct meanings, *e.g.*, *द्रव्ययज्ञ, तपोयज्ञ, योगयज्ञ, ज्ञानयज्ञ*, etc. The different meanings of the same term are indeed perplexing in a conventional treatise on Logic. But the Gītā is by all means a book of harmony, wherein both terms and doctrines, even though conflicting and opposite are allowed wider latitude of use and larger scope for synthesis. The interests of the logic of terms consequently suffer a great deal in the Gītā and it is always *the meaning with reference to the context* that is ever in request. The author of the Gītā, whosoever he may be, keeps up the same trend also in Chap. XV. He takes the term Akṣara to mean a second Puruṣa intermediate between Puruṣottama and Kṣara Puruṣas and comparable to Plato's World-Soul connecting Idea on the one hand and Phenomenon on the other.

What do the traditional interpretations say about Akṣara? According to Saṃkara, Akṣara is "the seed-cause which produces the Kṣara Puruṣas." By the adjective 'Kūṭastha' which qualifies the term Akṣara, he means, one who is situated in Māyā. The term 'māyādhīśa' can be substituted for what he refers to in this connection. The Akṣara Puruṣa is thus the efficient cause of the Kṣara or the change-aspect of the cosmos. It is the Saguna Brahman; and there are the due provinces of subsistence left for both the individual Jīva or Kṣara and the transcendental self or Puruṣottama. The term Akṣara has been used in the seed-cause sense *totidem verbis* in the Viṣṇu-purāṇam : *सदृशं यज्ञेश्वरः पुमान् गुणोर्भिस्त्वद्विस्थितिकालसंश्रयः* (I-1-2). He who is the cause of the creation, preservation and destruction, is the Lord Akṣara Brahman. If the Kṣara Puruṣa means the category of Change and the Akṣara the Efficient Cause of all change, then the Puruṣottama is the *tertium quid* who is the

Nirguṇa Brahman, the ever-beyond and yet the highest principle of explanation.<sup>1</sup>

To Śrīdhara, Akṣara is equal to Jīva. He writes : कूटस्थचेतनो-  
भोक्ता । स तु चक्षुरः पुरुषो इत्युच्यते विवेकिभिः<sup>1</sup> Kūṭastha is conscious  
enjoyer. He is called by the name of Akṣara Puruṣa by the wise  
(XV—16, Commentary). The empirical individuals who experi-  
ence the world are opposed to it in the relation of subject and  
object. This relation requires to be finally comprehended by an  
ultimate supra-relational principle, and hence the Puruṣottama.  
Śrīdhara's interpretation is not altogether original. Even as  
early as the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad, Akṣara is used in the sense  
of Amṛta, i. e., Jīvātman and conceived in knowledge-relation  
with Kṣara the Pradhān or Prakṛti, both the terms of the relation  
being ruled over by a Third Hara, the single and the shining  
one. Granting Śrīdhara's exposition to be verified by the  
Upaniṣadic text, it is possible to trace one distinct synthetic  
function of the book of harmony—as the Gītā is, viz., to  
establish a foundational link between the Puruṣa and the  
Prakṛti of the Sāṃkhya and thus to reach the highest principle  
of unity and comprehension. The Chap. XV of the Gītā is  
a clear endeavour after the development of a monistic theory  
out of the popularly accepted Sāṃkhya dualism. And the  
overruling Third has been characterised by Saṃkara as  
“knowledge, existence, bliss, single, secondless and the self  
supreme (1—10 Svetā. Up. Commentary).”

What the above classical interpretations of Saṃkara and  
Śrīdhara, along with the historical antecedents traceable in  
the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad, stand guaranteed for, is the recog-  
nised antiquity of a doctrine of the Three Puruṣas which in  
Chap. XV of the Gītā has already transcended the stage of  
nebulous expression or imperfect formulation and has been

<sup>1</sup> It is profitable to compare in this connection Saṃkara's attempt in  
his commentary on the antaryāmividyā in the Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, at a reconcilia-  
tion between the non-difference of the Kūṭastha Brahman on the one side and Kṣetrajña,  
i. e., Antaryāmi on the other, i. e., between Absolute on the hand and the individual soul  
and the world-soul on the other.



shaped for the first time as a clear-cut doctrine of remarkable philosophical moment. Before, the idea had been vague, in the clouds. Now it was a philosophical doctrine ; and no amount of interpolation could take away from its strength. If in the opinion of the Vaiṣṇavas, the Puruṣottama was the same as Kṛṣṇa, the object of our life's craving, this would merely show that according to the Gītā, the highest self who is beyond all difference and relativity is as well *worshipable* and not beyond all touch with the human. Until the last vestige of ignorance is destroyed, worship is a fact and there is the dualism of the devotee and the object of worship. But the object of worship is not always a Personal God. The originality of the doctrine of worship in connection with the theory of Puruṣottama in the Gītā lies in emphasising on a *new kind of experiment in spiritual practice* with an Impersonal Object as the goal of religious ambition. The details of this worship are left untabulated though its possibility cannot be denied (XII—3-5). The theory of Puruṣottama therefore testifies to the fact that the Gītā is not merely a philosophical treatise aimed at harmony and reconciliation but an ethical and religious handbook as guide to practical spiritual excellence as well. The Gītā thus accepts both the personal and the impersonal worship as actual ; and any one negating the one in the interest of the other runs the risk of dogmatism and furthermore commits the fallacy of 'exclusive particularity.'

Puruṣottama is not merely Kṛṣṇa of historic reputation and Vaiṣṇavite recognition. Any theory that fastens the highest Puruṣa upon this or that phenomenon of the world of sensuous envisagement to the exclusion of others, directly militates against all reason and facts. He is neither a finite link in the endless chain of phenomena nor the all-comprehensive single system of appearances taken as a whole, but the 'Immutable Lord' who—we know not how—sustains<sup>1</sup> the three worlds

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Aurobindo Ghose's suggestion of an ethical explanation of the Puruṣottama wherein is outlined "the principle of Divine works" as a reconciliation of the ideals of

by transcending them.<sup>1</sup> Such a Puruṣottama, who has been for the sake of clear understanding qualified by the unmistakable phrase परमात्मैवदत्तः (called the highest self) can be taken as interpolated only on pain of an utter rejection of any view that identifies him with Kṛṣṇa as person. No person, in fact, needs to be indicated by the Impersonal. The Impersonal is the truth of the personal, the finite and the particular. Kṛṣṇa has himself expressed what he is ultimately and not phenomenally, viz., the Unmanifested who is the 'immutable' and the 'transcendental.' "It is only the ignorant who think me to be personified (VII—24)." Thus understood, Kṛṣṇa is only another name and form (nāmarūpe) of the one Absolute.

Is it not true then that the Puruṣottama doctrine is as old as the Upaniṣad theory of Brahman and has its origin in the Vedas? It may be argued that the term Puruṣottama<sup>2</sup> has marked Vaiṣṇavite associations so far as modern Vaiṣṇava literature both in Sanskrit and Bengali are concerned; and though only once in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad the expression Uttamaḥ Puruṣaḥ is used, it only meant the individual self and

the 'kinetic man' immersed in the action of the Kṣara and the 'quietist' or the 'ascetic' who seeks to dwell in the peace of Akṣara. *Essays on the Gītā* (S. Ganesan, Publisher), Chap.—'The Principle of Divine Works,' pp. 171-185.

<sup>1</sup> According to Mr. Ghose, the Puruṣottama has a two-fold status, the 'cosmic' and the 'supracosmic'; as cosmic, he is in Time as both Kṣara and Akṣara and 'yet he is other because he is more and greater than either of these opposites' and thus supracosmic. Hence in the Puruṣottama "the personal and the impersonal" are blended and united. It is an 'undividing Monism' of the 'whole-knower' who "sees the one as the one even in the multiplicities of Nature..." But Mr. Ghose is not clear on his emphasis either on the Advaita or the Viśiṣṭādvaita explanation of the Puruṣottama. *Essays, etc.* (second series) Chap. XV: 'The three Puruṣas.'

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Tilak in Chap. IX entitled *Ādhyātma* of his *Gītā-rahasya athavā karmayoga śāstra* discusses what in the view of the Gītā is the exact position of the Puruṣottama whom he calls Parameśvara. He finds that (1) in the Gītā, despite many personalistic appellations of Parameśvara his ultimate and the highest nature is nirguṇa and unmanifested; and man in his ignorance conceives him to be saṁguṇa; (2) Prakṛti of the Sāṁkhya, the apparent prapañca, i. e., the cosmic scheme is all but appearance of this Parameśvara; (3) Puruṣa or Jīvātman of the Sāṁkhya is finally of the nature of Parameśvara—nirguṇa and actionless, though mistaken by us to be the agent.

not Brahman. This argument is however overthrown very easily ; for the significance of language for philosophy is not all-important and philology is not philosophy. Hence though the term Brahman is replaced by another term *Puruṣottama* in the Chapter in question, it would be superfluous to think that the old doctrine of Brahman is supplanted by another novel doctrine of *Puruṣottama*. It only indicates, in this case, that the terminology for the one and the same meaning or import undergoes an extension. The commentators like Rāghavendra, Śrīdhara and Śaṅkara have all taken the term *Puruṣottama* to mean not a phraseology for philological annotation but a meaning for purely philosophical allusion. So when it is said that the theory of *Puruṣottama* is 'spoken of in the Vedas also', Śrīdhara quotes from the Veda and Rāghavendra refers to such Upaniṣadic texts as *paramacetana* or *cetanaścetanānām* thus linking up the whole theory with the Vedic line of thought. In so far as the *Puruṣottama* of the *Gītā* is identical with Brahman of the Vedas, they stand to one another in the relation of sameness of meaning with difference of expressions. But when the *Puruṣottama* is considered as in the context of the *Gītā*— not as apart from but in a line with the other two *Puruṣas*, he stands to the Vedic, or for the matter of that, the Upaniṣadic Brahman, in the relation of an express doctrine of first formulation to its nebulous genesis.

*Puruṣottama*, as even a word, is distinctly very old. The preceptor of Nityānandāśram, the commentator of the *Chāndogyo-*paniṣad was known by this name. Many other Vedāntists also seem to have possessed this designation. Much later again, in the *Dharma Purāṇam*, the word was given its Vaiṣṇavic definition to be used as a qualifying appellation of *Vāsu-*deva Kṛṣṇa. The word was stripped of its Vedāntic associations and given a Vaiṣṇavic garb. The word thus suffered, in the process of its evolution of associations, a bifurcation of usage and purpose. What the *Gītā* undertook to propose was to place the *Puruṣottama* at the top, in its metaphysical scheme

of the levels of reality, in the same status with Brahman, for they are non-different—recognising, in addition, a hypothesis of the worship of the transcendental. The challenge that the Puruṣottama hypothesis of the Gītā throws to modern metaphysics is, firstly to underrate the sectarian motives whether in religious or scientific standpoints of philosophical speculation proper, and, secondly, yet to estimate adequately the necessity and urgency of spiritual discipline in order to be thoroughly disinterested and dispassionate and see facts full in the face just as they are.<sup>1</sup>

SUSHIL KUMAR DEV

## POEMS OF INDIA

### MY FAITH

The dusty pilgrims and the worshippers  
 Who daily pray within the Mosque, know more  
 Of faith perhaps than I, who see all domes  
 And minarets, temples, spires or crosses  
 As earthly things, man-made and lacking peace  
 For me. I weary of the different tongues  
 That call on Allah, Brahma, Jove or God;  
 I seek Him in the spacious quiet of night,  
 Alone with naked thoughts to bridge the void,  
 Not bound by walls; I need no outworn creeds  
 Nor theories, dogmas, priests nor church; no  
 Rituals to point my way to kinship  
 With my God. Here within my soul dwells hope  
 That I am one with all this mystery,  
 Content to wait to learn the Truth at last  
 When I have passed the key-less Door that men  
 Call Death, yet is not death to me, but Life!

LILY S. ANDERSON

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Plato's Republic, Book VI, p. 500: "He that truly keeps his understanding bent on the realities has no time to look down at the affairs of men, to fight and become full of malice and hate. Such men rather look upon and behold a world of the definite and uniform. Where doing and suffering injustice is unknown, and all is governed by order and reason (italics mine)."

## SEA ADVENTURES

### HAWKINS AND FROBISHER.

One of the greatest seamen of Queen Elizabeth's days was Sir John Hawkins. He was a man of Devon, like so many of the old sea-dogs, who raised England's prestige at sea so greatly in those stirring times.

Born at Plymouth in 1532, he came of a family whose interests were bound up with sea-faring in all its aspects. His father was a famous sea captain, and an elder brother helped to fit out ships for combating the Armada.

The first of the exploits of John Hawkins of which we have record was an expedition which he fitted out to the Gulf of Guinea, where he raided the Portuguese slave ships, allowing them first to get their living cargoes, and then taken them and hurrying across to America where the poor negroes were sold at a huge profit on the outlay of the British expedition.

Hawkins carried his enterprises with a high hand, but not always were they successful ; thus soon after his first great success he sent a couple of ships with instructions to raid Seville. These the Spanish captured and confiscated. Nothing daunted, Hawkins prepared another expedition, something on the lines of slave-raiding venture. One result of this second voyage, in which Elizabeth shared the profits, because she had contributed to the small squadron, was the granting of a coat of arms whereon was shown a negro in chains—a curious crest to us, but one thought very appropriate at that time.

Still a further slave-raiding expedition was fitted out, this time on a large scale, and Hawkins sailed with the backing of many of his countrymen ; indeed, the expedition might be said to be national in every sense.

The success of the Spaniards in the West Indies and Central and South America was a source of envy to our people, and

there was no lack of support to an enterprise which promised not only a rich return on the money invested, but some additional glory to our infant marine.

Many slave ships fell into their hands and then, having sold the negroes to advantage, compelling the Spanish to buy them whether they would or no, Hawkins thought that he might do better work than return with what he considered a very moderate yield. Sailing along the coast of America, Hawkins decided that it would be well worth while taking toll of the Spanish towns. Under pretence that he had been driven into harbour by stress of weather, he induced the Spaniards to afford him refuge whilst he refitted his ships. He was able to dictate terms to the town because he had taken a Spanish vessel on his way to Vera Cruz, and he held the crew as hostages against compliance with his demands.

These would have been singularly heavy, once the refitting had taken place, but for the unexpected arrival of a strong Spanish squadron, the commander of which professed friendship and his willingness to aid Hawkins in his refitting. Actually, the new arrivals laid plans to rid the seas of this English free-booter.

At a given signal the Spaniards fell upon the English ships and succeeded in destroying all but two ; Hawkins's own vessel, the "Minion" and the little "Judith," these limped out of harbour in a battered condition. "Judith" belonged to young Francis Drake who, despite the rather bad beginning of his adventures afloat, was soon to be heard of whenever the Spanish Main was in question.

The voyage home of the "Minion" and the "Judith" was a series of disasters, relieved only by the fine conduct of officers and men.

- For years following this enterprise Hawkins stayed ashore, but his great merit was recognised by the Queen, who promoted him to be Treasurer, and later Comptroller, of the navy. Then,

with the coming of the Armada, he was at sea again, distinguishing himself greatly against the Spanish.

For his services in this adventure he received his knighthood. After the defeat of the Armada, he made several expeditions against the treasure fleets of the nation we had been fighting, but he had little luck. He tried to excuse his lack of success to the Queen by quoting a text. This provoked Elizabeth to one of her quick repartees. "This fool went out a soldier, and has come back a divine!"

Sir John lacked some of the finer attributes of the great sailors of his day. Brave he undoubtedly was, but also greedy; he was also inclined to be unscrupulous and tended to practise a piety which was overridden too easily by his desire for gain. Like Drake he died at sea, and was buried off Porto Rico, in November, 1595.

Dying the year before Hawkins, Martin Frobisher was a greater seaman and an explorer of more than ordinary merit. He was a Yorkshire man though his people were natives of North Wales. Like most of the great heroes of these stirring days, he was sent early to sea, and by 1565 he was called Captain Frobisher. We do not know how old he was when he reached his captaincy, since the year of his birth is unknown. Records were badly kept in those distant days; beyond the fact that we know he was born in the thirties of the sixteenth century, we have no certainty of the actual date within this decade.

Before Frobisher became a captain of a ship, he had planned a voyage of discovery. The belief persisted for a long period that there was a passage round the coast of North America to China and India. It was the ambition of every sailor of imagination to be the first to make the voyage to those rich dominions, by what was hoped would prove to be a much easier route.

For a long time Frobisher tried his best to get the English interested in his project, but it seemed in vain to plead at a

time when there were so many seas ripe for exciting enterprises. The riches of Spanish America were a far greater lure than the problematical North Western Passage of which Frobisher dreamed.

He succeeded at last in enlisting the powerful Earl of Warwick, and through his influence Frobisher found himself in command of three very small craft, one of which was best described as a pinnace. The others, named the "Michael" and "Gabriel" were mere cockleshells, but stout enough to serve this gallant seaman.

The total crew of the small squadron amounted to only 35 men, but, cheered by the presence of their Queen, they set sail from Greenwich on the 7th June, 1576, proceeding first to the Shetland Isles.

Like so many of these early voyages the start was marred by bad weather, in which the pinnace was lost, and the "Michael," fearing to share her fate, turned back and so deserted the flagship of the little squadron. Frobisher pushed on and at length sighted Labrador, but after following the coast for some distance the ice prevented further progress. Failing to get further north, the explorer followed a passage to the westward for some distance. Here he found friendly natives and stayed with them for a little time. Unfortunately some of the "Gabriel's" crew were decoyed from the camp and though every effort was made to induce the natives to give them up, no success was attained, and the poor fellows were left there, their end being unknown.

Winter was now approaching rapidly and, much against his will, Frobisher had to turn for home, baffled for the moment but quite sure that he was on the track of a great and beneficent discovery.

He reached the Thames again on the 9th of October, having accomplished quite a good deal of surveying in the limited time he had been away. A rumour swept the country that Frobisher had brought back an enormous nugget of gold from



the Arctic regions, and this led to a rush to invest money in a further expedition which he was invited to command for the following summer.

The explorer's star was now in the ascendant. A powerful company was formed with a charter which enabled them to sail in any direction to China, save the east. This indicated that the company meant to send their ships through the fabled North West Passage. Frobisher was appointed high admiral of all waters and lands which he might discover, the navy added the vessel "Aid" to his fleet, besides subscribing £1,000 to the outfit of the expedition. The fleet consisted of several well-found ships, including the "Michael" and "Gabriel" and many pinnaces. There was a total of 120 men abroad, against the paltry 35 of the previous year. Not all these were seamen, for the reported discovery of gold in Labrador made it desirable that the ships should convey a party of miners and metal refiners.

Leaving the home port at the end of May, 1577, Labrador was reached by mid-July and operations were commenced at once on that rocky shore, the quartz being eagerly searched for traces of gold.

It now transpired that Frobisher had secret orders not to trouble too much about the North West Passage that year; he was to concentrate upon the gold that was popularly supposed to abound in great quantities amongst the rocks of that desolate land.

The land operations were greatly hindered by the unfriendliness of the natives, who were especially troublesome when Frobisher announced his intention of recovering the men who had been decoyed by their people on his last voyage.

Though the return of the vessels with 200 tons of ore was hailed as a great achievement, and Frobisher was made much of, the Queen giving him a chain of gold, there was considerable disappointment at the results of the expedition, especially when on refining the ore the traces of gold were almost negligible.

In spite of this, however, the belief that the new land had much hidden riches was so strong that early next year a further and much stronger expedition was fitted out, and again Frobisher sailed at the head of it. Further, it was resolved that a colony should be planted in Labrador, the country having already been annexed and added to the Queen's dominions beyond the seas. A party of 100 men were to be the first colonists.

No sooner had the expedition reached the coast of Labrador than dissensions, fostered by bad weather conditions, broke out amongst the somewhat mixed company. Large quantities of ore were obtained and placed on board the ships, and then they turned at once for home, all save one of the fleet, the "Dennis," which was driven ashore in the early stages of the exploration.

-This finished the voyages of Frobisher in search of the fabled passage to China, but it is questionable whether this intrepid sailor ever gave up his firm belief that the way needed only careful search.

He served in various capacities, always with credit, and he had the honour of knowing that his name was one of four which were sent to the Queen as the best sailors in England when the country was threatened by the oncoming Armada. He did splendid work in the "Triumph," and was knighted for his services. For the rest of his life he served well and shared many minor enterprises. His reputation for strict discipline, at a time when it was urgently needed, was very high, though it is said he carried his vigorous rule rather too far. Finally, he was wounded in an action off Brest, and died full of honour, being buried in the Churchyard of St. Giles Cripplegate, London.

G. G. JACKSON

## NOTE ON THE WORK OF THE CONFERENCE ON THE TREATMENT OF FOREIGNERS.

The first session of the Conference on the Treatment of Foreigners, which opened on November 5th in Paris under the Presidency of M. Albert Deveze, came to an end in the evening of December 4th. At this session the Conference did not succeed in concluding the Convention it had been summoned to prepare, but adopted a final Protocol by which the delegates of the forty-seven countries represented decided to submit to their Governments all the documents relating to the work of the Conference, with a view to obtaining their observations and suggestions, and to holding later a second session for the conclusion of a Convention on the Treatment of Foreigners.

This Protocol, which is analysed below, marks the conclusion of the first session of the Conference and, at the same time, lays down the procedure for the continuation of its work.

The Conference was called upon to establish, on the basis of a preliminary draft prepared by the League Economic Committee, the text of a general Convention on the treatment of foreigners open for the signature of all States, members or not of the League of Nations. This question had hitherto been dealt with in bilateral negotiations between States and this is the first time that it came before a general conference.

After a brief general discussion, the Conference divided its work between various Committees, which made a thorough examination of the preliminary draft convention. The discussion, both in Plenary meetings and in Committee meetings, revealed the importance and the difficulties of the problem, in particular as regards the system of taxation to be applied to foreign nationals and wares and conditions of circulation, sojourn and establishment. On all these points, as well as on various chapters of the draft Convention, the general opinion was that

the Conference had succeeded in clearing the ground and paving the way for a contractual solution. It was, however, necessary to avoid a danger to which the President drew attention at one of the last meetings, namely, that the Conference, in view of the special circumstances of various States, might modify certain principles embodied in the draft Convention and might adopt texts which, if embodied in the Convention, would introduce a less liberal system than that at present provided by most national laws and by certain bilateral Conventions.

Desiring to establish the Convention on the most liberal basis and at the same time to take account of special circumstances of fact or of law, the Conference finally decided to give Governments time to study its material and its discussions and to arrange for a second session, which would be prepared by its Bureau in co-operation with the League Secretariat.

*The Protocol analysed.*

The delegates of the Governments represented at the Conference note that a second session will be necessary for the discussion of questions meriting further examination. They also agree :

1. To submit to their Governments for consideration all the documents relating to the work of the Conference, drawing their attention to the expediency of establishing the proposed Convention on the most liberal basis, subject to the right to make it conditional on derogations justified by special considerations of fact or of law which exist at present, in view of which Governments will be called upon to put forward proposals.

2. To request their Governments to forward to the League Secretariat, before June 1st, 1930, any observations and suggestions they may wish to make.

The Bureau of the Conference will remain in office during the interval between the two sessions, in order to examine the documents mentioned above and prepare the future work of the Conference.

It will be left to the President to fix, with the approval of the Council, the date of the second session of the Conference which, as far as possible, should be held at Geneva before December 31st, 1930.

To this session will be submitted, in addition to observations and proposals from Governments, the opinions obtained in advance of the advisory bodies of the League and of the International Labour Office and any other technical opinions, in particular, that of the International Chamber of Commerce.

The following countries were represented at the Conference : Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, China, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Free City of Danzig, Dominican Republic, Egypt, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hungary, India, Irish Free State, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Luxemburg, Mexico, the Netherlands, Norway, Panama, Portugal, Peru, Poland, Roumania, Salvador, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Uruguay, Venezuela and Yugoslavia.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [Received by the Editor from the League of Nations, Information Section, Geneva, December, 1929.]

## THE THIRTEENTH SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE.

The Thirteenth Session of the International Labour Conference was held at Geneva from the 10th to the 26th October, 1929. It was the third of those sessions of the Conference, the agenda of which consisted solely of questions relating to the living and working conditions of seamen. It thus continued and supplemented the work of the maritime conferences held at Genoa in 1920, and at Geneva in 1926.

The reasons for holding such special maritime conferences are not far to seek. The shipping industry is perhaps the most international of all industries. It is international in its object, which is to transport persons and goods from one country to another. It is international in the surroundings in which it is exercised—the high seas, which are the common property of mankind. It is international also because of the fact that it is open to free international competition. Except in the case of certain kinds of near trade between ports in the same country, no country stands in a privileged position: freight rates are established internationally. Since each mercantile marine is exposed to the competition of all others, it is difficult for any one to bear charges which are not also borne by the rest. Thus if the conditions of work of seamen are to be improved, it is even more necessary than in the case of other industries that the mercantile marines of the various countries should enjoy the safeguards of international labour legislation. Such safeguards can be comparatively easily devised, because wherever similar types of ships are concerned navigation is carried out under similar conditions on all seas; and seamen, irrespective of the flag under which they sail, work in a similar way, since the exigencies of the service are the same in all mercantile

marines, and it is necessary to provide against the same dangers.

The agenda of the Conference consisted of the following four items :—(1) Regulation of hours of work on board ship, (2) Protection of seamen in case of sickness (including the treatment of seamen injured on board ship), *i.e.*, (a) The individual liability of the shipowner towards sick or injured seamen, (b) Sickness insurance for seamen, (3) Promotion of seaman's welfare in ports, (4) Establishment by each maritime country of a minimum requirement of professional capacity in the case of captains, navigating and engineer officers in charge of watches on board merchant ships.

Those four questions came up for first discussion before the Conference according to the newly introduced double discussion procedure, the immediate objective being not the adoption of Draft Conventions and Recommendations, but to settle as completely as possible the points on which the International Labour Office should consult the various member-states with a view to a second discussion which will take place at the next maritime session when the Conference will be called on to take final decisions. In view of the importance of the agenda, it is not surprising that all maritime states-members of the Organisation were represented with the exception of Norway, which, in the absence of an official delegation, due to political circumstances, sent two observers to follow the proceedings. The number of countries represented at the Conference was 31, who sent 102 delegates and 152 advisers, making a total of 254 persons. The President of the session was Mr. Eduard Aunos Peroz, Spanish Minister of Labour and Social Welfare. The personnel of the Indian Delegation was as follows :—

To represent the Government of India :—Delegate : (1) Sir Atul Chatterjee, K.C.I.E., High Commissioner for India ; (2) Sir Geoffrey Corbett, K.B.E., C.I.E., I.C.S., Adviser and substitute delegate, Mr. C. W. A. Turner, C.I.E., I.C.S.

Advisers : (1) Mr. J. E. P. Curry, Shipping Master, Bombay;  
(2) Captain Sir Edward Headlam, Kt., C.S.I., C.M.G., D.S.O.

To represent the Employers :—Delegate : Mr. Jadunath Roy, Calcutta. Advisers : (1) Mr. P. H. Browne of Messrs. Mackinnon Mackenzie and Company, Calcutta ; (2) Mr. Fakirjee Cowasjee, Karachi ; (3) Mr. M. A. Master of Messrs. The Scindia Steam Navigation Company, Bombay.

To represent the Workers :—Delegate : Mr. M. Daud, M.A., B.L., President, Indian Seamen's Union, Calcutta. Advisers : (1) Mr. Syed Munawar, B.A., M.L.C., General Secretary, Indian Seamen's Union, Bombay ; (2) Mr. L. G. Pradhan, B.A., LL.B., Vice-President, Indian Seamen's Union, Bombay ; (3) Mr. Muzzammil Ali, Assistant General Secretary, Indian Seamen's Union, Calcutta.

Mr. C. W. A. Turner acted as Secretary to the delegation.

At the beginning of the session, a difficult situation arose as a result of protests lodged by the employers' group with regard to the composition of the Conference, following which the employers' delegates in a body absented themselves from the Conference. The difficulty was tided over, and the employers' group induced to return, however, by the Conference passing a resolution inviting the Governing Body to seek all appropriate means of avoiding in the future a repetition of such difficulties. The work of the Conference, despite the temporary abstention of the employers' delegates went on smoothly, and the Draft Conclusions submitted by the four committees set up to deal with the items on the agenda were adopted in plenary sitting without any significant amendments, and the four questions were included in the agenda for the next maritime session for final discussion.

### *Hours of Work on Board Ship.*

The conclusions of the Committee on Hours of Work on Board Ship were adopted in the plenary Conference



by 71 votes to 20. The Conference decided after examining the grey report on the subject that it was desirable to consult governments on the question of international regulations of hours of work of seamen by means of a Draft Convention and invited the International Labour Office to ascertain the views of the governments on the following main points :—(1) Scope of the draft conventions : (a) as regards vessels, (b) as regards trades, (c) as regards persons employed on board ; (2) Methods of regulating working hours it might be possible to adopt for different categories of the crew, *i.e.*, engine room staff, deck staff, and the catering staff : (a) in port, (b) on sailing days, (c) on passage, and (d) on arrival days ; (3) Possibility of providing that overtime for certain classes of work necessary for safety shall not be subject either to limitation or compensation.

*Protection of Seamen in case of sickness.*

The Committee set up by the Conference to study this item submitted two reports. The first report, dealing with the individual liability of the ship-owner towards sick or injured seamen, was adopted by 65 votes to 16. The second report, dealing with sickness insurance for seamen, was adopted by 68 votes to 14. Both reports concluded that the question dealt with was suitable for treatment in a Draft Convention. The Conclusions adopted on the first point related to the risks covered (sickness, injury, and death) and the liabilities of the ship-owner (medical treatment, maintenance, wages, repatriation, funeral expenses, and the protection of the property of deceased seamen or those left behind as a result of sickness or injury). The conclusions adopted on the second point laid down the principle of compulsory sickness insurance for all persons employed on board ships engaged in maritime navigation, including sea-fishing boats, but with the exception of ships of war. Possible exceptions are suggested in the case of foreign seamen or seamen not

resident in the country whose flag the vessel flies, masters and officers in receipt of remuneration which is high in relation to the general level of remuneration, members of the employers' family, pilots and workers below or above specified age limits.

*The Promotion of Seamen's Welfare in Port.*

The report submitted by the Committee set up by the Conference on this item was unanimously adopted by the Conference. The following are the main points on which the International Labour Office has been invited to consult governments :

The institution in all large ports, where such bodies do not already exist, of authorities or officially recognised organisations, including representatives of the shipowners, the seamen, and the authorities and institutions concerned; the adoption, with due heed to national and local conditions, of legislative measures or regulations for the purposes of systematically combating the dangers of alcoholism and narcotics, of supervising hostels, and of protecting seamen in their movements between their ships and the shore; the initiation of suitable measures for the protection of the health of seamen against tuberculosis, tropical or other diseases, and especially the organisation of treatment for venereal diseases, as is provided for by the Brussels Agreement of 1924; the adoption of measures more directly concerned with the stay in port of seamen of all nationalities, including the provision of suitable hostels, meeting and recreation rooms, libraries, etc., and the extension of facilities for thrift.

*Minimum requirement of Professional capacity in the case of Captains and Officers in charge of watches.*

The report of the Committee on this subject was adopted by 65 votes to *nil*, and it was decided by 73 votes to 2 to place the question on the agenda of the next maritime session. It was the general opinion that as experience has shown that

a vessel, however well-built, equipped, navigated and staffed, could be exposed to serious dangers from the fact that the staff of another vessel did not possess sufficient professional capacity, some form of international guarantee in this respect was absolutely necessary. It was, therefore, decided that the States Members should be consulted on the following points :— possession of a certificate of professional capacity is to be required by national legislation for employment as (a) master or skipper; (b) navigating officer in charge of a watch; (c) engineer officer in charge of a watch. The determination of the scope of this Draft Convention on the basis of general definitions, which might be as follows :—

Possibly, general conditions for granting certificates which should be specified by national laws or regulations : (a) a minimum age; (b) a certain standard of professional experience; (c) the necessity of passing one or more examinations organised and supervised by the public authorities.

The Conference also passed resolutions dealing with the following questions :—Conditions of life and labour of Asiatic seamen, especially when employed outside their countries or on board foreign ships; hours of labour in inland navigation; conditions of labour in aerial navigation; the application of Draft Conventions and Recommendations adopted by previous maritime Sessions of the Conference; and equitable treatment of seamen employed on board vessels plying within the territorial waters or on the inland waterways of the country of which such seamen are citizens, within the general framework of the social legislation of such country.

The resolutions concerning the conditions of life and labour of seamen in Asiatic countries, submitted jointly by Mr. Daud, Indian workers' delegate, and Mr. Liang, Chinese workers' delegate, deserve special attention. The resolution pointed out that though equal treatment of seamen without distinction of race and colour was an essential requirement, there existed at present

marked inequalities by which differential treatment was accorded to Asiatic seamen, as compared with other seamen performing the same work, in such matters as wages, hours of work, system of recruitment, housing, health and the protection afforded by the laws of the country of the shipowner in respect of insurance, workmen's compensation, freedom of association, etc., and requested the Governing Body (1) to direct the International Labour Office in the conduct of its general inquiry into the conditions of Asiatic labour to devote special attention to the conditions of Asiatic seamen and (2) to consider whether this question could be placed on the agenda of an early conference. Mr. Daud, in his speech on the resolution pointed out that there were over 250,000 seamen in India, of whom 200,000 were victims of chronic unemployment, and that even in the case of the 50,000 who are able to secure employment, invidious distinctions existed in respect of wages, hours of work, etc. Thus while an Indian fireman was paid Rs. 23 or £1-15s, a British fireman was paid £9-10s a month. Other abuses pointed out by Mr. Daud were the present system of recruitment of seamen by brokers, the woeful lack of housing accommodation for seamen, and the longer hours of work exacted from Indian seamen.

Before closing the account of the Conference reference has also to be made to the objections raised by several Indian employers' organisations against the appointment of Mr. P. H. Browne, as one of the advisers to the Indian employers' delegate. The objections were based on the following contentions:—(a) That Mr. Browne was not nominated in agreement with national organisations of employers in India, and as such cannot represent them; (b) that Mr. Browne was not nominated in agreement with the most representative organisations of employers in India; and (c) that Mr. Browne represented non-national interests which are in serious conflict with the national interests of India, and as such not only can he not faithfully represent the latter, but might seriously prejudice the same. The objectors also referred to the case of Sir Arthur Froom, whose credentials

were challenged at the Conference of 1926 by Indian employers on almost identical grounds, and whose nomination was validated by the Credentials Committee on that occasion on grounds of "expediency" alone. After giving a full hearing to the parties to the dispute, the Credentials Committee decided to recommend the acceptance of the credentials of Mr. Browne on the grounds "that while representation at the Conference implies the representation of national elements, it could not enter into the substance of the question," and that it was for the Government to decide, by virtue of its sovereign powers, the national or non-national character of any organisation of employers or workers.

The thirteenth Conference, despite the difficulties which it had to face, was on the whole a most successful one, so much so, in fact, that at the last sitting the spokesman of the workers' group was able to assert that perhaps for the first time since the seamen had been called upon to partake in the work of the organisation, they would return to their respective harbours with relief and hope in their hearts.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Received by the Editor from International Labour Office, League of Nations, Geneva, through the Indian Branch, New Delhi.

## WRONG, RIGHT AND LOVE

O when this heart is mad with sin  
     I care not that Thou art ;  
 But when of sin the charm has fled  
     In fear I find Thy dart.  
 In magic charm sin veils her face  
     I feel that sin's Thy play ;  
 The darkest sin can touch Thee not  
     Thou eternal, sin of day.  
 Love's silent smile now touches heart  
     All sin to Thee is naught  
 By sin beguiled life's love and joy  
     In vain in sin is sought.  
 'Gainst Thy love sin's no offence,  
     Sin's poison vile to soul, heart, sense.

## II

All virtue piled on virtue's head  
     On Thee can make no claim  
 O thou hast made and canst unmake  
     To world what's virtue's fame.  
 What's virtue now was sin before  
     One's virtue's other's sin ;  
 O who can tell where virtues end  
     And where man's sins begin.  
 O quench in love this pang of Sin  
     And virtue's sturdy pride.  
 O blot me out in Thy sweet love,  
     My hearts eternal Bride !

## III

Exiled from love all right and wrong  
 Are but a tuneless, raucous song  
 In love I know not rise or fall,  
 Love is me and Love is all.  
 Love is flesh and mind and soul  
 Love is part and love is whole  
 Thou Love art Love, save what none else?  
 What I called curse in Thee I bless.

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI

## DREAM OF LOVE.

When night is falling  
 Over the Western Hills  
 I'll sing thee a song of love.  
 Listen to me calling  
 From 'midst the daffodils  
 Wafting their scent above.  
 Oh, My Beloved, I'll linger  
 Waiting to hear your voice;  
 Love of my heart, I want you  
 You are my song, my singer,  
 You are the love of my choice;  
 Come then, My Love, I want you,  
 Come then, My Love, My Own!

LELAND J. BERRY

## THE PHILOSOPHY OF SHELLEY

*The Revolt of Islam (1817)*

The "Revolt of Islam" practically brings to a close the earliest stage in the development of Shelley as a poet who after 1817 began to shake off the influence of the Godwinian philosophy and its crude ideas. It embodies, however, his grand illusion of regenerated humanity now freed from custom, tradition, law, and the tyranny of kings and priests. It is also a poet-prophet's vision of the triumph of liberty and contains his zealous advocacy of women's rights and their emancipation.

It is curious to note that Shelley's two early longer poems represent not only the views of Godwin and the French Revolutionists but many of the ideas of the German philosopher Kant as they appear in his "Ideas towards a Universal History from a Cosmopolitan Point of View" (1784) and "Towards Perpetual Peace" (1793) as well as those of Condorcet set forth in his remarkable philosophical survey written immediately before his death called "Sketch of the Progress of the Human Mind."

In the scheme of the semi-political and semi-religious narrative piece, the Revolt of Islam, Shelley not only creates an occasion for disseminating a large number of individual doctrines of the Revolutionary Movement but tries also to show how the blood of the two heroic and enthusiastic martyrs to the new Shelleyan religion of a regenerated new social order and society of free and equal men and women, establishing one brotherhood and fellowship of man as man built on the eternal foundation of Love, is, indeed, the seed of the millennium. In this new order replacing the old established order, Shelley realizes his highest idealistic vision of what according to him is the true kingdom of God on earth bound to fulfil the noblest mission of man's high ethical endeavours. Laon and Cythna



are apostles and missionaries of the new faith which replaces older superstitions erroneously called religion. They die in body to live immortal in soul in the Temple of the Spirit.

The crude ideas embodied in *Queen Mab*, largely influenced by Godwin's *Political Justice*, became considerably perfected by Shelley's actual experiences between 1812 and 1816 when he strongly pleaded in prose addresses for freedom, justice, wisdom and virtue. Shelley's editor, Mr. H. Buxton Forman, rightly says "the poem and its notes have played a considerable part in the growth of free thought in England and America, specially among the working classes." Here, in "Revolt of Islam", we possess an epic not only of free thought but also of *free love*,<sup>1</sup> of love without marriage; as if by way of an imaginative protest against his too generous indiscretion of having blundered too early in life into the other extreme of a marriage without love in the case of Harriet Westbrook, his first child wife.

In the heroine Cythna, Shelley depicts his ideal of emancipated womanhood—free, equal with man, a fearless and heroic self-sacrificing companion of Laon in his noble work of achieving human perfection through liberty and love.

This prepares us for the magnificent choral odes of "Prometheus Unbound" in which we have Shelley's noblest idealism dramatically represented in the hero who succeeds in liberating humanity from all bondage by the irresistible spiritual power of that ideal love which alone suffices to accomplish emancipation.

### *Prometheus Unbound (1819)*

The conflict between good and evil assumes here the form of a struggle for supremacy between the indomitable spirit of man and the brute force of tyranny. Infinite suffering and eternal endurance fortify the champion of humanity against a non-human Power. There is a spiritual rebirth of the hero

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Epipsychidion*.

who "hates no more as there ere misery made him wise" and is so changed that "aught evil wish is dead within" him. Shelley makes such a conversion of the vengeful Prometheus a necessary condition to ensure the *spiritual* regeneration of mankind. Shelley's idealism now enlarges his poetic vision of man and he cannot rest content merely with man's deliverance from social and political bondage. Purification of the hero is a suggestive improvement on the mythical view of his character because Shelley's ideal of freedom has under the influence of Plato now undergone an appreciable change. In exalting the dignity of man Shelley conceives him more as a moral agent than a political rebel. The spiritual emancipation of man through universal love is really his theme now. Suffering, says Novalis, is what makes us holy and through it we are led to God, and suffering effects a change of heart in Prometheus. The antique theme of a deadly strife between Zeus and Prometheus is not only presented by Shelley in a modern setting having a reference to the French Revolution but handled in a highly idealistic fashion. Shelley's philosophy recognises the value of healthy instincts, eternal endurance and contemplative insight in human evolution. The curse, once breathed on Zeus by Prometheus, he would recall. "Pain, pain ever, for ever"—is his lot. "No change, no pause, no hope" for "three thousand years of sleep-unsheltered hours," yet he endures, reigning and triumphing, to his foe's scorn, over his own misery and the vain revenge of the enemy of mankind. He repents for having cursed that enemy, for says he, "I wish no living thing to suffer pain." This is the kind of self-mastery achieved by the hero fit to champion the cause of man. Even Mercury admits that he is wise, firm and good, though vainly striving against the Omnipotent. "Within his mind sits peace serene, as light in the sun, throned." Shelley and Schiller were poets of infinite human aspirations guided by an inner law triumphing over external conditions and making for unhampered development of individuality in which the human *Will* is vic-

torious over the so-called inevitableness of fate and thus achieves moral freedom without which man's continuous struggle for perfection loses its significance. Hence the law of Necessity so prominent in Shelley's *Queen Mab* is replaced in *Prometheus Unbound* by the new law of emancipating Love. The liberator of man is no longer a common youthful enthusiast like Loam. The unvanquished Titan is always firm but never proud. Serene self-possession due to mastery over his own self takes now the place of the tumultuous spirit of rebellio in Laon. His moral will is supreme, he is invincible because he is "stern of thought." His character has been fashioned by Shelley on the model of the ideal Christ and he "would fain be the saviour and the strength of suffering man, or sink into the original gulf of things." He is determined to restore to man the birth-right of his being, "knowledge, power, the skill which wields the elements, the thought which pierces this dim universe like light, self-empire, and the majesty of love." Shelley conceives in this poem a new idea of slavery which is no more merely political servitude, for, he declares through Demogorgon that "all spirits are enslaved which serve things evil." The transformation of Asia in Act II of the poem figuratively signifies the triumph of liberty and love on earth, and once more—

"Love like the atmosphere  
Of the sun's fire filling the living world,  
Bursts from her, illumines earth and heaven  
And the deep ocean and the sunless caves  
And all that dwells within them."

Addressing Asia, Panthea says—

"Hearest thou not sounds i'the air which speak the love  
Of all articulate beings? Feelest thou not  
The inanimate winds enamoured of thee?"

And Asia's reply is—

"Thy words are sweeter than aught else but his  
Whose echoes they are: Yet all love is sweet,

Given or returned. Common as light is love,  
 And its familiar voice wearies not ever,  
 Like the wide heaven, the all-sustaining air,  
 It makes the reptile equal to the God."

Then they sail on, away, afar into

" Realms where the air we breathe is love,  
 Which in the winds on the waves doth move,  
 Harmonising this earth with what we feel above."

The marvellous effects of the redemption of man from all tyranny, error and evil are next delineated by the poet. The spirit of the Hour is charged with the duty of proclaiming to the world the message of man's deliverance. The Earth feels the rejuvenating touch of life and joy, the warmth of an immortal youth shooting down through her withered, old and icy frame. All things put off their evil nature and the spirit of the Hour thus describes the sudden change that results—

"The impalpable thin air  
 And the all-circling sunlight were transformed,  
 As if the sense of love, dissolved in them,  
 Had folded itself round the sphered world."

Thrones became kingless, altars, judgment-seats and prisons disappeared like ghosts of a no-more-remembered fame; hate, disdain, fear, self-love, self-contempt, hypocrisy, custom's evil taint, cold command of tyrants and abject slavishness of their victims, all vanished and made earth like heaven.

" Nor pride,  
 Nor jealousy, nor envy, nor ill-shame,  
 The bitterest of those drops of treasured gall,  
 Spoilt the sweet taste of the nepenthe, love."

Next follows what to Shelley was then a fascinating picture of man :—

" The loathesome mask has fallen ; the man remains—  
 Sceptreless, free, uncircumscribed, but man

Equal, unclassed, tribeless, and nationless,  
 Exempt from awe, worship, degree, the King  
 Over himself ; just, gentle, wise : but man."

This, we need hardly add, is nothing better than an unreal abstraction derived mainly from the destructive rationalism of the French Revolution. It soon yields place, however, to a nobler conception of man living in a universe all triumphant with the supremacy of love which rules it as by a new law. When sceptred curse, which did threaten to muffle the universe round with black destruction, is sunk, withdrawn, covered, drunk up by thirsty nothing,

" Filling its void annihilation, love  
 Bursts in like light on caves cloven by the thunder-ball."

Love interpenetrates the granite mass of the earth, passes through trodden clay and tangled roots into leaves and flowers, is spread upon the winds and among the clouds, wakes a life in the forgotten dead and with earthquake shock makes shiver—

" Thought's stagnant chaos, unremoved for ever,  
 Till hate, and fear, and pain, light-vanquished shadows, fleeing,  
 Leave Man, who was a many-sided mirror,  
 Which could distort to many a shape of error,  
 This true fair world of things, a sea reflecting love."

" Man, oh, not men ! a chain of linked thought,  
 Of love and might to be divided not,  
 Compelling the elements with adamantine stress ;  
 As the sun rules, even with a tyrant's gaze  
 The unquiet republic of the maze  
 Of planets, struggling fierce towards heaven's free wilderness  
 Man, one harmonious soul of many a soul,  
 Whose nature is its own divine control,  
 Where all things flow to all, as rivers to the sea ;  
 Familiar acts are beautiful through love ;  
 Labour, and pain, and grief, in life's green grove  
 Sport like tame beasts, none knew how gentle they could be.

His will, with all mean passions, bad delights,  
 And selfish cares, its trembling satellites,  
 A spirit ill to guide, but mighty to obey,  
 Is as a tempest-winged ship, whose helm  
 Love rules, through waves which dare not overwhelm,  
 Forcing life's wildest shores to own its sovereign sway."

In the last quarter of the 18th century, the one-sided rampant individualistic trend of the rationalists passed through successive stages of pietism, sentimentalism, destructive storm and stress of raw passion and furious emotional outburst into an ideal cosmopolitan conception of collective man leading to the later conception of the organic unity of man. Shelley makes the nearest approach towards Hegel's idea of a concrete universal made manifest in the individual as the type of universal humanity. Kant presents the idea of a confederation of all peoples at peace with one another; Schelling gives us his ideal of spiritualised humanity; Fichte of humanity liberated from local bounds of geography and nationality and Schleiermacher of perfected man who does not slavishly accept any scripture but is the maker of all scriptures.

In Shelley's new universe as in Dante's Paradise, "Love is the guide, the rule" and the poet conceives "the whole motion of the universe as one cosmic dance of love that builds the universe into one to make it resemble the Supreme Unity." In the words of Demogorgon

"This, like thy glory, Titan! is to be  
 Good, great and joyous, beautiful and free;  
 This is alone Life, Joy, Empire and Victory."

In the Preface to his *Prometheus Unbound* we come across a significant hint where Shelley tells us, "The cloud of mind is discharging its collected lightning, and the equilibrium between institutions and opinions is now restoring, or is about

to be restored." He acknowledges his "passion for reforming the world" but warns us that his political compositions do not contain "a reasoned system on the theory of human life." 1818 to 1820 were for Shelley years consecrated to the poetry of liberated<sup>1</sup> humanity and regenerated social order, brought about by the downfall of tyrants, overthrow of oppression, removal of fettering social conventions. In Prometheus his ideal vision of perfected man is imaginatively realized. Though in his prose addresses to the people he is thoroughly practical here for once he is absurdly unhistorical, being absorbed in the *Idea*, as an incorrigible enthusiast careless of actualities. Shelley in Italy became a spiritual and idealistic recluse living in a world of books and ideas created by his devotion to Platonism. His hero rightly says therefore (Act I) to the Third Fury

"I am King over myself, and rule  
The torturing and conflicting throngs within,  
As Jove rules you when Hell grows mutinous."

Self-possession, serene and blessed now replaces the tumultuous revolt against tyrants and oppressors which characterise "Queen Mab" and "Revolt of Islam." Asia's emancipating self-less love reminds us of Goethe's Iphigenia whose large-hearted humanity and healing presence bring in a new age of freedom and fraternity in place of the hatred and vengeance that tracked the destiny of the house of Atreus. Intolerant religious persecutions and the reign of terror, followed by Napoleonic self-aggrandisement, are, no doubt, symbolically represented as perverting for a time good to evil yet all tormenting hideous revelations of this character only serve, adds Prometheus,—

(to) "gird my soul  
With new endurance, till the hour arrives  
When they shall be no types of things which are."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Thomas Holcroft's novel "Anna, St. Ives" (1792) on the theme of regenerated humanity.

Here is the sure triumph of the Ideal over the real, of the spirit over the flesh. The ultimate source of strength and comfort in the midst of trying tribulations is thought and Prometheus is solaced by the spirits breathing the atmosphere of human thought, who have from unremembered ages been gentle guides and guardians of heaven-oppressed mortality, *viz.*, the spirits of Love, Altruism, Wisdom, Poesy.

Imperfections of realities always suggest to Shelley a perfection behind them guiding his imagination to a vision of what is to be. Here is the very soul of Shelley's ideal passion and of his mystic vision. We are not, however, justified in inferring from this that he was incapable of sober thinking about politics. He says to Leigh Hunt, "I fear that in England things will be carried violently by the rulers and they will not have learned to yield in time to the spirit of the age, the great thing to do is to hold the balance between popular impatience and tyrannical obstinacy; to inculcate with fervour both the right of resistance and the duty of forbearance. You know my principles incite me to take all the good I can get in politics, for ever aspiring to something more. I am one of those whom nothing will fully satisfy, but, who are ready to be partially satisfied in all that is practicable." <sup>1</sup>

I feel constrained to postpone for a while the consideration of Shelley's *Hellas*. In connection with his well thought out political ideas and ideals, mention should be made here of Shelley's "Philosophical View of Reform." Mr. Ingpen thinks that Shelley refers to it in his letter of November 6,

"A Philosophical  
View of Reform"  
(1820).

1819, where he says—"I have deserted the odorous gardens of literature, to journey across the great sandy desert of politics." It was finished by 1820 but left unpublished till 1920 and contains Shelley's well-considered opinions and practical suggestions as political remedies and is considered by Professor Dowden to be more

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Leigh Hunt, from Florence, of November, 1819.



important than all other writings of Shelley on politics and by its editor Mr. T. W. Rolleston as remarkable for the moderation of his views. Mr. Rolleston gives an important extract from a letter of Shelley to Leigh Hunt, dated May 26, 1820, in which according to him we have the first mention of this Essay: "Do you know any publisher or book-seller who would publish for me an octavo volume, entitled "A Philosophical View of Reform"? It is boldly but temperately written, and, I think readable. It is intended for a kind of standard book for the philosophical reformers, politically considered like Jeremy Bentham's, something, and perhaps more systematic."<sup>1</sup> The social, economic and political conditions prevailing in England at the time of Shelley's Essay are well known to-day to every student of English history. The scheme of the Essay as stated at the outset by Shelley consists of four topics:—

- (1) Sentiment of the Necessity of change.
- (2) Practicability and Utility of such change.
- (3) State of Parties as regards it.
- (4) Probable Mode—Desirable mode.

In the unfinished Essay, as we have it, there are only three chapters, *viz.*, Chapter I, Introduction, Chapter II, dealing with the first topic mentioned above, Chapter III, on "Probable Means."

In the last paragraph of the Introduction (Chapter I) Shelley asks—"Has there not been and is there not in England a desire of change arising from the profound sentiment of the exceeding inefficiency of the existing institutions to provide for the physical and intellectual happiness of the people?"

This will strongly remind us of Godwin's *Political Justice*, Book VII, Chapter III, in which that political philosopher elaborately works out his theory that the necessity of political coercion arises from the defects of political institutions and also

<sup>1</sup> Introduction V of Mr. T. W. Rolleston's edition (Oxford University Press, 1920).

of Chapter V. which establishes the relation between despotism and anarchy. Shelley also seems to have partly drawn his inspiration from Book VI, Chapter III, which deals with the absurdity of the attempt on the part of the Government to restrain political thought and the freedom of speech and of free discussion of political questions.

After putting the above-mentioned question regarding a desire of change, Shelley adds—"It is proposed in this work (1) to state and examine the present condition of this desire, (2) to elucidate its causes and its objects, (3) to show the practicability and utility, nay the necessity of change, (4) to examine the state of parties as regards it, and (5)<sup>1</sup> to state the probable, the possible, and the desirable mode in which it should be accomplished." <sup>1</sup> Godwin was also an advocate of a gradual but uninterrupted change. He will have many reforms but no revolutions. "Revolutions are," <sup>2</sup> says he, "the produce of passion, not of sober and tranquil reason." Yet "incessant change, everlasting innovation seems to be dictated by the true interest of mankind." But governments are conservative and opposed to alteration, improvement and advance.

### *A Philosophical View of Reform.*

In order to put the crisis in England in a proper historical perspective, Shelley gives in his Introduction (Chapter I) what he calls "a slight sketch of the general condition of the hopes and aspirations of the human race" since "the obliteration of the Greek republics by the successful tyranny of Rome." He passes in review man's struggle for freedom "from the dissolution of the Roman Empire, the vast and successful scheme for the enslaving of the most civilised portion of mankind to the epoch of the French Revolution" and refers to the resistance offered to tyranny (1) by the Republics and municipal Governments

<sup>1</sup> Mr. T. W. Rolleston's edition, page 31. The editor has corrected Shelley's "inadvertently written 4th" in place of (5).

<sup>2</sup> *Political Justice*, Book III, Ch. VII.

of Italy and how Florence divided and weakened the strength of the Empire and the Popedom,(2) by the Reformation which however, is called an imperfect emancipation of mankind from the yoke of priests and kings, to the rising of the oppressed peasantry who murdered their tyrants and the establishment of the Republic of Holland, to the English Renaissance—that extraordinary exertion of the energies of intellectual power which by rapid gradations conducted the nation to the temporary abolition of aristocracy and episcopacy, to the Revolution of 1688 which is a compromise between the inextinguishable spirit of Liberty, and the ever watchful spirit of fraud and tyranny and by which monarchy and aristocracy and episcopacy were at once established and limited by law. It was acknowledged and declared, however, that the Will of the People was the source from which those powers derived the right to subsist.

“In both instances” (i.e. of the Reformation and the Revolution), Shelley concludes, “the maxims so solemnly recorded remain as trophies of our difficult and incomplete victory, planted on the enemies’ soil. The will of the People to change their Government is an acknowledged right in the Constitution of England. The protesting against religious dogmas which present themselves to his mind as false is the inalienable prerogative of every human being.”

Then Shelley speaks of the new epoch marked by deeper religious and philosophical enquiries into human nature and into the inmost nature of the social man and mentions Lord Bacon, Spinoza, Hobbes, Boyle, Montaigne, Locke, Berkeley, Hume and Hartley and the use made of the doctrines of these writers by a crowd of writers in France who developed portions of the new philosophy to expose the falsehood of the mediæval pretences of their religious and political oppressors. Political Philosophy was also assuming a precise form under the influence of these philosophers and Swift, Bolingbroke, Sidney, Locke, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Godwin and Bentham illustrated the principles of human nature as applied to man in political society.

These enquiries kindled "a thirst for accommodating the existing forms according to which mankind are found divided to those rules of freedom and equality which have been discovered as being the elementary principles according to which the happiness resulting from the social union ought to be produced and distributed." Mechanical sciences also attained to a greater degree of perfection and commerce was pursued with a perpetually increasing vigour.

"The result of the labours of the political philosophers has been the establishment of the principle of utility as the substance, and liberty and equality as the forms according to which the concerns of human life ought to be administered."<sup>1</sup>

The state of public opinion in Europe is next reflected in the just and successful Revolt of America as its first result and in the French Revolution which is the second.

The system of Government in America administered according to republican forms, as the first practical illustration of the new philosophy, appeared to Shelley to be a near approximation to a perfect system, though sufficiently remote from the accuracy of ideal excellence, having no absolute King, no aristocratic legislature, no venal priesthood, no leisured rich class fattening on the earnings of actual toilers, no arbitrary Chancery Court, and no standing army<sup>2</sup> ready to cut down the people if they at all murmur at oppressions. "It has a true representation. The will of the many is represented in the assemblies and by the officers entrusted with the administration of the executive power almost as directly as the will of one person can be

<sup>1</sup> Though quotation marks are not always used, the whole of this passage has been put as nearly as possible in Shelley's words and may be practically regarded as consisting of extracts from Shelley's Essay (pages 1 to 12 of Mr. T. W. Rolleston's edition).

<sup>2</sup> The "Peterloo Massacre" of 1819 was quite fresh in Shelley's mind to which he refers in Chap. III, pages 78 and 80. This was responsible for Shelley's extreme views about soldiers. "From the moment a man is a soldier, he becomes a slave,...is taught to despise human life and human suffering,...is more degraded than a murderer" (page 68). Such views are, however, considerably modified and softened when he speaks of them as reasonable Englishmen (pages 81-82).

represented by the will of another." Also "there is a law by which the constitution is reserved for revision every ten years." "Compared with the old Governments of Europe and Asia, the United States affords an example of a free, happy and strong people."

In Shelley's view hereditary oligarchy is "an order of men privileged to cheat and insult the rest of the members of the State, and who inherit the right of legislating and judging which the principles of human nature compel them to exercise to their own profit and to the detriment of those not included within their peculiar class." And the established Church is a "system of opinions respecting the abstrusest questions which can be the topics of human thought, founded in an age of error and fanaticism, and opposed by law to all other opinions, defended by prosecutions, and sanctioned by enormous grants given to idle priests and forced from the unwilling hands of those who have an interest in the cultivation and improvement of the soil."

In the French Revolution, Shelley holds, "the tyrants were, as usual, the aggressors" and the desire of the oppressed, "rendered brutal, ignorant, servile and bloody by slavery," to wreak vengeance, "a mistake, a crime, a calamity." But he rightly adds that if a just and necessary revolution could have been accomplished with as little expense of happiness and order in a country governed by despotic as in one governed by free laws, equal liberty and justice would lose their chief recommendations and tyranny be divested of its most revolting attributes.<sup>1</sup> Tyranny entrenches itself within the existing interests of the best and most refined citizens of a nation and says 'If you dare trample upon these, be free.' Though these terrible conditions

<sup>1</sup> Cf. "If the Revolution had been in every respect prosperous, then misrule and superstition would lose half their claims to our abhorrence. Could they listen to the plea of reason who had groaned under the calamities of a social state according to the provisions of which one man riots in luxury whilst another famishes for want of bread?" [Preface to the *Revolt of Islam*.]

shall not be evaded, the world is no longer in a temper to decline the challenge.

The degradation of the French people of the time of the Revolution is attributed to their institutions—slavery, superstition, contumely and its tame endurance and the habits engendered out of this transmitted inheritance.

The liberation of Germany and Spain's struggle for it and the establishing of republics in South America are next reviewed. With great foresight Shelley refers to the future of Asiatic countries where revolutions were in sight, mentioning India, China, Persia, Syria, Arabia, the Turkish Empire, and Palestine. Egypt and the West Indies are also taken into consideration.

Shelley was thoroughly convinced of the inexpressible advantages of a self-governing society. One important condition according to him of perfect government is the representation of the will of the people but provision is, he insists, necessary to make that will as wise and just as possible.

"Right Government," he adds, "being an institution for the purpose of securing such a moderate degree of happiness to men as has been experimentally practicable, the sure character of misgovernment is misery, and first discontent and, if that be despised, then insurrection, as the legitimate expression of that misery. The public right to demand happiness is a principle of nature. The labouring classes, when they cannot get food for their labour are impelled to take it by force. Laws and assemblies, and courts of justice and delegated powers placed in balance and in opposition, are the means and the form, but public happiness is the substance and the end of political institutions."<sup>1</sup>

Shelley's political reasoning is based on his review of political forces in modern England, of the movements of English opinion, of the National Debt and its implications,

<sup>1</sup> "A Philosophical View of Reform," Ch. II, page 49.

the mischiefs of paper currency, the consequences of the creation of a new aristocracy of wealth having its basis in funds (consisting of attornies, excisemen, directors and Government pensioners, usurers, stock-jobbers and country bankers) and created out of an increase in public calamities, and the wretched condition to which labour is reduced under this double aristocracy. A picture of this wretchedness is vividly drawn by Shelley who conedemns strongly "sweating," child-labour, labour extorted from women, the old, the sick and the immature. "For fourteen hours' labour, which they do perforce, they receive the price of seven. They eat less bread, wear worse clothes, are more ignorant, immoral, miserable and desperate." "This, then, is the condition of the lowest and largest class, from whose labour the whole materials of life are wrought, of which the others are only the receivers or the consumers."

The alternatives with which the nation is faced in these circumstances are Reform, Military Despotism or Revolution.

Shelley's conclusions are :—

(1) The majority of the people know how destitute, miserable, ill-clothed, ill-fed and ill-educated they are and are impatient to procure a reform.

(2) All property is the produce of labour and its unequal distribution is the cause of so much misery and the cause of that cause is a defect in the Government.

(3) Every enlightened and honourable person's duty it is to remove from the minds of the oppressed people the false idea that all this arose from the unavoidable conditions of human life and "to excite them to the discovery of the true state of the case, and to the temperate but irresistible vindication of their rights." In this connection Shelley attacks "the Malthusian fallacy."

As preliminaries to Reform Shelley would abolish the national debt, disband the standing army, abolish sinecures and

tithes (with, however, every possible regard to the existing rights and interests of the holders) and make justice cheap, certain and speedy and extend the institution of juries.

Then follow Shelley's views<sup>1</sup> regarding property which, he says, are of two descriptions and entitled to two different measures of forbearance and regard.

"Labour, industry, economy, skill, genius, or any similar powers honourably and innocently exerted are the foundations of one description of property, and all true political institutions ought to defend every man in the exercise of his discretion with respect to property so acquired."

"Another species of property has its foundation in usurpation, or imposture, or violence. Of this nature is the principal part of the property enjoyed by the aristocracy and by the great fund-holders."

The first kind "is a property of the most sacred and indisputable right and the foundation of all other property." "If a man takes by violence and appropriates to himself through fraudulent cunning, or receives from another property so acquired, his claim to that property is of a far inferior force." In case of public emergency the nation may with the least injustice appropriate, not the profits and savings of labour and skill, but possessions which can only be called property in a modified sense.

On principle Shelley is not against universal suffrage and female suffrage, but in the then condition of England he considered them to be premature. "Our present business," he prudently says, "is with the difficult and unbending realities of actual life."<sup>2</sup> Shelley is too hastily condemned by his adverse critics as an impractical and impatient idealist and a dreamer. With regard to the choice between Reform and Revolution in England he holds—"A Republic, however just in its principle

<sup>1</sup> "A Philosophical View of Reform," chapter II, pages 60-64.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. III, p. 71.



and glorious in its object, would through the violence and sudden change which must attend it, incur a great risk of being as rapid in its decline as in its growth.<sup>1</sup> \* \* No friend of mankind and of his country can desire that such a crisis should suddenly arrive''<sup>2</sup> in which the nation may be compelled to revolt to establish a representative assembly by the abolition of monarchy and aristocracy.

“ If a Reform shall be begun by this existing government, let us be contented with a limited *beginning*, with any whatsoever opening; let the rotten boroughs be disfranchised and their rights transferred to the unenfranchised cities and districts of the nation; it is no matter how slow, gradual and cautious be the change; we shall demand more and more with firmness and moderation, never anticipating but never deferring the moment of successful opposition, so that the people may become habituated to exercising the functions of sovereignty, in proportion as they acquire the possession of it. If this reform could begin from within the Houses of Parliament, as constituted at present, it appears to me that what is called moderate reform, that is a suffrage whose qualification should be the possession of a certain small property, and triennial parliaments, would be a system in which for the sake of obtaining without bloodshed or confusion ulterior improvements of a more important character, all reformers ought to acquiesce. Not that such are first principles, or that they would produce a system of perfect social institutions or one approaching to such. But nothing is more idle than to reject a limited benefit because we cannot without great sacrifices obtain an unlimited one. We might thus reject a Representative Republic, if it were obtainable, on the plea that the imagination of man can conceive of something more absolutely perfect. Towards whatever we regard as perfect, undoubtedly it is no less our duty than it is our nature to press forward.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. II, p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. III. p. 75.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. III. pp. 76-77.

\*\*\* It is in politics rather than in religion that faith is meritorious."

Wiser words than these have seldom been uttered by a man of twenty-eight and yet Shelley continues to be a victim to "an ineffectual angel" legend.

"The great principle of Reform consists in every individual giving his consent to the institution and the continuous existence of the social system which is instituted for his advantage and for the advantage of others in his situation. As in a great nation this is practically impossible, masses of individuals consent to qualify other individuals, whom they delegate to superintend their concerns." Shelley's theory of popular Government is thus based on this principle of representation and the people's representatives have, he says, constitutional authority to exercise the functions of sovereignty, uniting in the highest degree the legislative and executive functions. "A Government which is founded on any other basis is a Government of fraud or force and ought on the first convenient occasion to be overthrown." If, therefore, "the Houses of Parliament obstinately and perpetually refuse to concede any reform to the people, my vote is for universal suffrage and equal representation."

The inconveniences of the system of voting by ballot are enumerated. He next sets forth in eloquent words the duties and functions of a true patriot who must "endeavour to enlighten and to unite the nation and animate it with enthusiasm and confidence, to rally round one standard the divided friends of liberty and make them forget the subordinate objects with regard to which they differ." He will indefatigably promulgate political truth and promote open confederation among men of principle and spirit to make their intentions and efforts converge to a common centre. He will discourage all secret associations. "Lastly, if the tyrants command the troops to fire upon" the people collected in the exercise of their right of assembling (as at Manchester on the memorable 16th of August,

1819) or "cut them down unless they disperse, he will exhort them peaceably to defy the danger, and to expect without resistance the onset of the cavalry, and wait with folded arms the event of the fire of the artillery and receive with unshrinking bosoms the bayonets of the charging battalions. \* \* And this not because active resistance is not justifiable when all other means shall have failed, but because in this instance temperance and courage would produce greater advantages than the most decisive victory." <sup>1</sup>

It may be stated here that Godwin in his *Political Justice* Book I, ch. III, deals with the questions of the unequal distribution of property, the insolence of the rich and the poverty of the masses and of unjust legislation favouring the wealthy classes. As a staunch believer in the power of convincing men by reason (Book I, ch. IV) Godwin would proceed to correct even the men disposed to use violence "by convincing them of their error" (Book III, ch. I). Being in favour of a *gradual* change, he will have many reforms but no revolutions (Book III. ch. VII). Practical hints are next laid down by Shelley for successful methods of agitation. Prosecutions for political libel should be courted to create opportunities for testing those forms which are used by oppressors as means, the right to impose unjust taxes contested and the tax-gatherer compelled in every practicable instance to distrain; petitions ought to load the tables of the House of Commons and even poets, philosophers and artists ought to present memorials—men like Godwin, Hazlitt, Bentham and Hunt should effectively appeal in solemn and emphatic language. As far as possible all risks of a civil war and of an insurrection (the last resort of resistance) should be avoided. He next considers for a moment the nature and consequences of war. "There is secret sympathy between Destruction and Power, between Monarchy and War. \* \* War is a kind of superstition; the pageantry of arms and badges

<sup>1</sup> Shelley here anticipates the modern patriot's creed of passive resistance with extraordinary foresight.

corrupts the imagination of men. \* \* War, waged from whatever motive, extinguishes the sentiment of reason and justice in the mind." He equally condemns the idea of revenge and retribution.<sup>1</sup>

The essay, though left unfinished abruptly, ends in a vision of what will remain to be done after victory will have been achieved by the people and their representatives assumed control of public affairs according to constitutional rules, viz.,— "the great task of accommodating all that can be preserved of ancient forms with the improvements of the knowledge of a more enlightened age, in legislation, jurisprudence, government and religious and academical institutions."

In order to secure the advantage of a chronological study of the development of Shelley's political views I have been compelled to interpose Shelley's prose essay of "A Philosophical View of Reform" as a very important contribution to his political philosophy between *Prometheus Unbound* and *Hellas*. We turn now to the consideration of his last longer poem on the subject.

### *Hellas* (1822)

Shelley's "Prometheus Unbound" was inspired by an *ideal* passion for man's emancipation from all types of tyranny. The idea of human perfectibility runs through the whole piece. His revolutionary zeal reaches its maturity in a vision of regenerated man and woman liberated from all bondage by the spirit of love. Though presented in a concrete form, after all it is an abstract ideal of human perfection that the poet's vision of the millennium embodies in it. Shelley himself says—"it is in the merest spirit of Ideal poetry," and "never intended for more than five or six persons."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Shelley's "Essay on Christianity" (1815).

<sup>2</sup> Letter of July 20, 1820, to Thomas Medwin, and of April 10, 1822, to John Gisborne.

But in the case of *Hellas* which was written, he says, "in one of those few moments of enthusiasm which now seldom visit me,"<sup>1</sup> it is a well-defined actual historical event which appealed to his lyrical genius. "I am writing," he adds, "a dramatic poem, called *Hellas*, upon the contest now raging in Greece—a sort of imitation of the *Persæ* of Æschylus, full of lyrical poetry."<sup>2</sup> He speaks of it to Horace Smith in April, 1822, as "a poem on the Greek cause last summer,—a sort of lyrical, dramatic non-descript piece of business" and we are further told that the author felt intense sympathy with the cause here celebrated.

Herein Shelley produces "something relative to the age," and presents the political ideal of a thorough-going radical in politics opposing the narrowness of early nineteenth century conservative England. Though condemning vehemently all faith in religion Shelley's philosophy, however, admits it in politics.

The noble and heroic, though yet partially successful, effort made by the Greeks to throw off the Turkish rule and despotism inspired Shelley's imagination. Shelley urged his publisher Charles Ollier for immediate publication for he knew that on it depended the success of the poem in exciting interest. Yet both "*Prometheus Unbound*" and "*Hellas*" have the same theme—only the treatment is different. Freedom forms in both the keynote. "*Hellas*" opens with the choral song—

' Life may change, but it may fly not;  
 Hope may vanish, but can die not;  
 Truth be veiled, but still it burneth;  
 Love repulsed,—but it returneth!  
 Yet were life a charnel where  
 Hope lay coffined with Despair;  
 Yet were Truth a sacred lie,  
 Love were lust—

If Liberty

<sup>1</sup> The last letter mentioned above.

<sup>2</sup> Letter of October 22, 1821, to John Gisborne.

Lent not life its soul of Light,  
 Hope its iris of delight,  
 Truth its prophet's robe to wear,  
 Love its power to give and bear."

"In the great morning of the world,  
 The spirit of God with might unfurled  
 The flag of Freedom over chaos,  
 And all its banded anæchs fled  
 Like vultures frightened from Inanus.  
 Before an earthquake's tread."

Reference is next made to Thermopylæ, Marathon, Philippi, Milan, Florence, Albion and Switzerland to show how "from age to age, from man to man it lived till night fell" and "France with all her sanguine steams, hid, but quenched it not." Freedom returns now to "what of Greece remaineth."

There is a side attack on the conduct of England and of Russia in this struggle of Greece for freedom.

The chorus of captive Greek women sings again in passionate language, saying

"Where the rocks that gird th' Ægean  
 Echo to the battle pean

Of the free—

I would flee

A tempestuous herald of victory!

\* \* \*

And my solemn thunder knell  
 Should ring to the world the passing bell  
 Of tyranny!"

Slavery is next vigorously attacked and the world is told further—

"Let there be light!"—said Liberty:  
 And like sunrise from the sea,  
 Athena arose."

Temples and towers, citadels and marts, and they who  
live and die there, may decay

“ But Greece and her foundations are  
Built below the tide of war,  
Based on the crystalline sea  
Of thought and its eternity.”

With unshaken faith in freedom the poet makes the chorus  
sing—

“ Alas! for Liberty!  
If numbers, wealth, or unfulfilling years,  
Or fate, can quell the free.

\* \* \*

And now, O Victory, blush! and Empire tremble!  
When ye desert the free!  
If Greece must be  
A wreck, yet shall its fragments reassemble,  
And build themselves again impregvably  
In a diviner clime,  
To Amphionic music, on some Cape sublime,  
Which frowns above the idle foam of Time.”

There is, finally, a soul-stirring message of hope in grand  
lyrical lines, which recapture the sublime spirit of antique  
Hellenism in its purity and beauty, in the last choral ode of  
which the musical effect is indescribable.

“ The world's great age begins anew,  
The golden years return;  
The earth doth like a snake renew  
Her winter weeds outworn:  
Heaven smiles, and faiths and empires gleam,  
Like wrecks of a dissolving dream ”

„Another Athens shall arise,  
And to remoter times

Bequeath, like sunset to the skies,  
The splendour of its prime;  
And leave, if nought so bright may live,  
All earth can take or heaven can give."

Shelley's poetic vision of a liberated Greece has borne its fruit. It may be noted that many of Shelley's grand political ideals, which appeared to his contemporaries as mere illusions, have in the course of a century of progress come to be realised and that many of the advanced ideas of the twentieth century in politics and sociology bear the unmistakable stamp of Shelley's so-called dreams.

*(To be continued.)*

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE



## Reviews

**The Beginnings of Local Taxation in the Madras Presidency—A Study in Indian Financial Policy—1863-1871.** By M. Venkata Rangaiya, M. A., Andhra University Series—No. I.

This is an investigation carried on into the finances of Local Boards and Municipalities in the Madras Presidency and the material collected from the original sources during ten months' research work is placed before the reader in this volume. This material refers to the early history of local finance and the author frankly admits that it is mere "spade work" and suggests that a more detailed and critical study of the institutions of local Government should be made for the wide training that is so essential to enable us to enjoy responsible Government in the future can be garnered in the local administrative field and any success or failure in this direction is absolutely dependent on the financial resources at the back of the local bodies.

Leaving aside the dim beginnings of local taxation in the days of the Company (p. 1 to 7) the author rightly points out that a conscious beginning in the development of local finance can be noticed in the years 1863-1871. The ever-growing expenditure of the Government of India, compelled it to devise measures to increase taxation but financial equilibrium could not be secured by additional taxation for reasons stated on p. 14. Uncertain revenue, increasing expenditure, spendthrift Provincial Governments, and an over-centralised financial system made the financial position of the Government of India a ludicrous one. With the Scylla of lessened resources on one side and the Charybdis of clamouring Provincial Governments for increasing grants on the other the supreme Government had to steer a cautious middle course and it hit upon the stratagem of "Local Taxation" as a thing different from Imperial Taxation. Relief was obtained by throwing certain charges on the shoulders of the Provincial Governments which were hitherto met by it. Cesses for education and road making were developed. Municipalities had to bear the cost of urban police. As Imperial Expenditure went on increasing more and more relief was obtained by delegating the charges to the Provincial Governments and this financial process known by the hackneyed term of "Decentralisation" commenced in right earnest from 1870.

Reference is made to Mayo's scheme of 1820 as an illustration of this principal tendency of securing relief to imperial finances by additional local taxation. In 1871 the Provincial Government had to shift these charges in the urban areas to the Municipalities and local taxation became a settled process by 1871.

The two other factors responsible for the development of local taxation are next referred to. To remedy the defects of Imperial taxation of those days, which practically meant unequal Taxation and to secure greater revenue local taxation was hit upon as a convenient measure. It was also the honest endeavour of the Supreme Government to secure real improvements in local areas and train people for self-government. To attain these measures of local taxation were devised during these days. Thus far the book deals with historical details of the subject matter. The critical part of the study commences from page 59 and covers roughly 50 pages.

The apparent conflict between the different motives that led to the development of local taxation is the subject matter of pages 59 to 80. So long as the dominant motive was relief to Imperial Government finances, the true principle that ought to guide the division of duties between the Central and the Local Governments was not logically carried out. Charges that ought to have been borne by the Imperial Government were delegated to the local bodies to be defrayed out of their frail resources. The use of local taxes for non-local purposes and the control of the Imperial Government over the local services created discontent among the minds of the people. The endeavour to evade police charges by declaring even mere rural areas as urban ones and the extension of the Municipalities Act to them is quoted as a specific instance of the evils arising out of the conflict of principles which led to the development of local taxation. The use of local taxation for higher educational purposes, medical relief and imperial highways meant for imperial use was also another specific grievance in the early days of local finance.

On account of this conflict local finance could never be developed on popular lines and the true principles of sound local finance could hardly have been evolved in those days of experiment and trying to learn by the methods of trial and error.

The next definite piece of criticism of the author is that no real self-government was after all existing in the local bodies of those days. The constitution of the municipal bodies is examined just to show that responsible Government hardly existed in the local areas. The predominance of the official and nominated non-official element in the municipal body and even the fixing of the expenditure item by the Governor (till 1871)

and the late introduction of the election element (1878) in few of the municipalities, even though the people knew how to work self-governing institutions on an elective basis are given out by the author as practical proofs of the non-existence of real self-government in those early days of the history of the local bodies.

The hesitation with which the elements of real self-government were introduced even when full control over rates lay in the hands of the Government forms one of the lost points of his criticism. The depriving of the villages of the last vestiges of their self-government by the village Cess Act of 1864 by making village officials the servants of the Imperial Government was another proof of the absence of any real self-government in those times either in urban or rural areas.

The only silver lining to the cloud was the levying of the education rate by representative regional local committees for running "rate schools" in the Godaveri District. But as the option of continuing or giving up the rate was vested in the hands of the people at the end of every five years this experiment proved a failure for the rates were considered burdensome and the schools were closed by the people.

The utility of the monograph would indeed have been greatly heightened, if attention had been drawn to the rapid changes that have taken place in local administrative bodies. Every economist has to admit the necessity of amending the Indian system of local government. With the development of towns and rapidly congested areas, the development of motor transport altering the use made of the roads and the insufficient local resources an impasse in the present system of local Government is bound to arise. Having studied the original roots and the early development of the local finances, it would have been more interesting if the author ventured to suggest the proper course of action for the Government to adopt in altering the system of local finance.

The applicability or otherwise of Baldwin's scheme of "block grants" to our local administrative units would have been stimulating. Without intelligent suggestions for the immediate future any restatement of the conditions of the past is bound to be boring, when specially new facts of material importance are not discovered. It is indeed true that it is left to the Simon Commission to elaborate a many-sided scheme of financial reorganisation which would enable the local administrative units to meet a large part of their expenditure out of local revenue. How and in what manner should the restrictive measure of control over the local bodies be exercised by the Provincial Governments? Is it not wise to set up a tribunal to solve all questions of "Surcharges" of "improper expen-

ditute " as the Government auditor is bound to term them? Is it wise after all to supersede altogether elective local bodies and are there no other ways of coercing refractory local bodies? What additional sources can there be to meet increasing expenditure that would be needed to undertake public utility services? How and in what manner can the elected local bodies be made miniature Parliaments or a progressive system of Parliamentary devolution be established within this country? Such are the important questions which require immediate solution and an immediate appeal to the best brains of the country to solve these living and vital issues is far more important than any fittering away of our best energies in exploring the historical standpoint without at the same drawing any useful lessons out of it.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU.

**Illusion of the Charka.**—By Anilbaran Roy.

The adverse criticism of a more or less accepted principle or symbol always indicates boldness and Mr. Ray has it in abundance. In this brochure on the Charka and its contribution to the national movement in India, he has indulged in some plain talks and has not minced his ideas on the spinning wheel of which he was once an extreme advocate, and his presence in the Council Hall with only his loincloth on will be a matter for history to record. But he now declares he has seen the errors of his ways; his charges against the Charka are many and various and he has had ample opportunities to reply to his critics. All the same, we feel constrained to admit, the spinning wheel retains its importance. The personalities of those who advocate it and those who disapprove should not observe the issue which, to dispassionate observers, should not present any complexities.

The Charka does not stand for poverty; but it is a definite stand both against the snares of capitalism and the individual idleness or the negation of the doctrine of manual labour. Gandhiji has been always saying that it is for leisure-time work and his *modus operandi*, also, is simple; if simplicity is Aladdin's lamp, then the Charka, of course, is such a lamp. To describe the present 'patronage' or 'subsidy' of the spinning wheel as eternal is to distort the case out of all proportions. That there is no ready market—not yet—for the Charka yarn or *Khadder* is an admitted fact, but that the demand is on increasing is the thing that matters. We must beg leave to differ from Mr. Roy when he says, while speaking on the evils of industrialism, 'How can the evils be overcome unless one enters into

it ?" For we may profit by other peoples' experience and alter our ways of industrialism so as to put ourselves beyond its well-known evils, taking our cue from the teachings of experience. If the charges against the spinning wheel are simple, the replies are equally so, and it is all the more surprising that there should be a controversy about it and old questions should be revived. Those who have no 'illusions' about the Charka are welcome to talk of agricultural industries and co-operative societies and banking facilities, the most violent Khaddarite should have nothing to object. But at the same time, there are people who see in the Charka both a symbol and a practical proposition, a centre for all beneficent activities in the village as it has sometimes proved to be in actual experience when workers have steadily held to it and settled down in the villages.

It is interesting to note that in the young India of December 19 last, Mahatma Gandhi has himself answered similar charges made by Mr. George Joseph and has clearly stated that the millions of India must be their own manufacturers and consumers if Khadi is to be used by them, that spinning as advocated by him is to be a spare time occupation, and that Khadi is the national programme for solving the problem of the growing poverty and the forced partial unemployment of millions of the peasantry "till a better is evolved."

Whatever may be the value of the conclusion arrived at by Mr. Ray, there is no doubt that the book is of a thought-provoking nature and deserves perusal, if only to see the two sides of the shield, at any rate, to consider what may be urged against the adoption of the spinning wheel as one of the main items of national work.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

**Vivekananda: the nation-builder.**—By Swami Avyaktananda. Ramkrishna Ashrama. Bankipore, Patna. 1929.

This is a most notable contribution to the literature on Swami Vivekananda whose activity as a nation-builder the book tries to re-state in definite terms. But what is a nation? The author of the book, Swami Avyaktananda, says it is essentially a group of individuals whose thoughts and activities are all organised on a particular basis with a particular end in view and this end must be furthered by the entire scheme of national life, as expressed in the political, social, economic, religious and educational institutions of the nation. In India it is religion which is the national goal, in Europe it is politics, and the fact that Indian nationalism is in these days so much and so often

identified with politics is due, in the writer's view, to the baneful influence of western culture. Swami Vivekananda, profoundly stirred by the synthetic teachings of Sri Ramkrishna and trained also on Western lines, first conceived the idea of a United India on a spiritual basis equipped for the defence of its own culture and came forward with a programme of work in which he cautioned again and again the great need of carefully keeping in view our rich spiritual heritage which, he said, was the life-blood of the Indian nation. The writer arranges the sum and substance of Vivekananda's ideas on social and political reconstruction and the result is extremely interesting as well as the treatment is novel and the style spirited. The book deserves to be read with attention by all who are interested in the national welfare of India and Swami Avyaktananda should be congratulated on having written it.

There is one unfortunate error in the footnote references which has to be pointed out and which, I hope, will be rectified in the second edition. On page 27, there is a reference to the Rig-Vedic India by 'Abinash Chandra Das Gupta,' evidently a mistake for 'Abinash Chandra Das'. The translation of the first sentence in the well-known passage on patriotism may be revised. Is it "I believe in patriotism" or "I also believe in patriotism:"

The one item in Swami Vivekananda's dictum on food, we draw the attention of our thoughtful readers. When pure Sattva is highly developed, all desire for animal food is extinct; but while admitting that there is widespread pretence of religiousness on the strength of vegetarianism, should there be no sincere attempts to bring about a change of temperament by introducing diet reforms? Surely some middle course is possible between hypocrisy on the one hand and absolute reliance on inner purification on the other, and regulations about diet have their value. Otherwise dietics would not have played so important a part in the scheme of life planned by so practical a man as Mahatma Gandhi. Over-emphasis on it is certainly misleading but neither is wholesale neglect of it by any means justifiable.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

**Cimmerii, or Eurasians and Their Future.**—By Cedric Dover. The Modern Art Press, Calcutta. Price Rs 1-8 only.

The author of the book is a Eurasian himself and has put forward an able and spirited plea for the independent existence

of the Eurasian Community as a distinct ethnic and cultural type. Being a practical scientist, the author has brought to bear on the study a critical and detached consideration, and in this his first-rate anthropological and biological knowledge has enabled him to make out a strong case in favour of the mixed races. The writer has followed a nice plan of his own, and begins with a characteristic statement of opinion, which indicates the general attitude of unmixed hatred of the pure whites "towards the results of their own amativeness." The history of origin, growth and development, and the causes which have led to the present unenviable condition of the Eurasians has been very ably traced with the unbiassed detachment of a scientist.

The author has thoroughly exposed the hollowness of the insidious propaganda carried on by interested scientists, who have sought to prove on biological grounds that the Eurasians are physically, intellectually and morally an inferior race, in whom the bad quality of both the parental races become accentuated in a pronounced form (p. 16). And it must be stated in the interests of honesty and truth that he has succeeded in making out a strong case against the accusers.

We do not however agree with the author on his formulation of the remedy "that the removal of racial friction by marriage will ultimately lead to the peaceful occupation of the whole world by one composite race" (p. 36). We think on the other hand that the racial instincts are too deep-seated to permit of a world-wide fusion even in the distant future and the diversity of ethnic and cultural types has a deeper value and significance for the civilization as a whole. Diversity need not connote hostility and antagonism. What is needed for the better progress of the world is sympathetic study of one another's culture; and racial individualities may exist side by side, and ultimately contribute to the richness of the world's civilization. We admire however the author's love of independence and superiority to that cringing attitude of the mind which seeks for help and charity from the ruling classes. The author boldly criticises his community for its pro-white psychology which he rightly emphasises, can never uplift them from their present degradation. The Eurasians must shed this slave-psychology and feel proud of their community and the land of their birth before they can hope to make any appreciable advance. The writer declares in a really prophetic strain, "The petty politics of the passing hour may meet with temporary success. Petty politicians may even earn coveted ribbons by megaphoning their British heritage and their claims on the

country of their fathers. But I am vain enough to believe that permanent emancipation can only come from toiling along the uphill road "I have attempted to indicate" (p. 53). We fully share the author's sentiments and we only hope that the present book will be instrumental in disabusing the minds of his own people of this folly of clinging to the apron strings of the ruling classes.

The printing, get-up and paper are not in any way inferior to those of European publications and typographical errors are almost nil. The book evinces originality of thought and deserves wide circulation.

S. M.

**Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court**—By Prof. M. A. Ghani, M.A., M.Litt. (Cantab.) Morris College, Nagpur. Rs. 5-8.

This is a welcome addition to other books already existing on the subject. After the publication of *Shi'ru'l 'Ajam* by Shibli Nu'mani, as the author himself has stated, there was a great move to construct a literary history of the Persian language on the lines similar to *Shi'ru'l 'Ajam* under the title of *Shi'ru'l Hind* so as to determine what part India played in the growth of Persian language and literature. He also felt a real need that India should have a good history of the development of the Persian language of its own. With this object in view the author undertook to accomplish this task, and has finished his labour, which is going to be published in three parts, covering the development of Persian Literature under Babur, Humayun and Akbar.

The book under review is Part I and deals only with the growth and advancement of Persian under Babur with a brief survey of the growth of Urdu language. The major portion of this book deals with the life and history of Babur and anecdotes connected with him. The author in dealing with the subject has attempted to show to what extent Hindi and Prakrits have influenced the Persian language in India. In tracing its development he has touched on Hindi, which coming in contact with Persian, gave rise to Urdu the *lingua franca* of India. He has given few instances of novel but graceful blending of Persian with Hindi from works of famous Persian poets, such as, Manuchehri and Hakim Sauce'i. He states that the Persian language and idiom was well preserved in India till about the 19th century, but since then it began to lose its ground and intermixture began to creep in, and there is now a great divergence between the Persian of Persia and the Persian of India. In this connection he states: "the consequence was that the Hindus and such of the native



Muslims as whose mother-tongue was Hindi began to introduce into the language words from Persian and Arabic. This was a turning-point in the history of Persian literature in India....A number of Persian official and legal terms together with other common colloquial expressions obtained currency in their mouth in a somewhat different sense from that in which they were understood in Persia. Many words coined under local influence also came into vogue....The Persian as it developed in India evidently under the influence of Indian dialects was solely deviating from its centre....The authors in India never seemed to have felt the need for recasting their style by a reference to Persia, due perhaps to a sense of *par excellence*. Very many words were crystallised by usage and accepted by the society's verdict strayed from the original meaning, and retained here in a different sense altogether; while others becoming obsolete in Persia, being ruled out from time to time by fresh ones in their stead...remained both inaccessible to and unwished for by the Indian writers."

The author in dealing with the development of Persian literature under the Mughal Court, has in fact, given us nothing new than what has already been said by Prof. E. G. Brown in his *Persian Literature under the Tartar Dominions* and by Shibli in his *Shi'ru'l 'Ajam*.

The author has also devoted few chapters in giving a brief outline of the growth of Urdu literature during the reign of the Mughal emperors, and in this connection he has stated that Urdu language in its crude form can be traced as early as the 4th century A.H.

The book has many interesting informations and extracts from original sources. It is nicely got up and beautifully bound. We hope the other instalments of this series will be more interesting and helpful to the students of Persian and Urdu literature alike.'

M. K. Shirazi.

## Ourselves

THE LATE MR. S. C. GHOSE.

We record with deep grief our sense of loss at the death of Mr. S. C. Ghose, Lecturer on Railway Economics in the Post-graduate Department of the Calcutta University, at the comparatively early age of 53 on the 10th January, 1930. Mr. Ghose was a well-known authority on Railway rates and his expert advice was eagerly sought for by the Railway Board where his voice on technical questions relating to Railway tariff carried great weight and he acted as an advisor in matters affecting Railway policy to such big Native States as Baroda and Gwalior. Many of his valuable contributions on Railway Economics have appeared in this Review. We offer our sincere condolence to the bereaved family.

PROF. I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA, B.A. (CANTAB.), PH.D.

The resignation tendered by Prof. I. J. S. Taraporewala B.A. (Cantab.), PH.D., University Professor of Comparative Philology in the Post-graduate Arts Department with effect from 1st February, 1930, has just been accepted by the Senate. We are sorry to lose a man of Dr. Taraporewala's intrinsic worth and high character and the loss to the University is really great. His services to the cause of Iranian Studies were of immense value and he gave an impetus to the study of French and German in the early years of the new organisation of Post-Graduate studies in the Calcutta University. The study of Guzrati as a subsidiary subject in the Indian Vernaculars Department owed not a little to his efforts. He was an ideal

teacher who inspired his students with a keen desire to follow his noble example. We heartily congratulate him on his recent appointment as Principal of the Cama Athornan Institute of Bombay and wish him long life and many years of useful activity.

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DR. KALIDAS NAG.

We congratulate Dr. Kalidas Nag, M.A., D.Litt. (Paris) on the recent invitation received by him from the Carnegie Institute of International Education, New York, America, to deliver a course of lectures on "Indian Art and Archaeology" as the visiting Professor of the Institute for 1930. He has also been invited by a number of learned Societies of Europe, such as the German Academy of Munich and the Kern Institute of Leyden, to deliver lectures on Indian cultural subjects which, thanks to the generous support extended to the department of Ancient Indian History and Culture in this University by the far-sighted genius of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, form an integral part of Post-graduate Studies with which Dr. Nag is associated as a Lecturer. Dr. Nag is one of the active organisers of the Greater India Society which has done signal service by bringing into closer touch the larger world of culture and important centres of learning with the Calcutta University. He was deputed by Sir Asutosh in 1924 to accompany Dr. Rabindranath Tagore in his extensive Far Eastern tour and presented, on behalf of the University, complete sets of its publications to the Imperial University of Tokyo, the National University of Peking, The French School of Archaeology in Hanoi (Indo-China) and the Dutch Archaeological Department of Batavia. He was invited to lecture on Greater India by the Universities of Dacca, Madras, Mysore, Andhra, Allahabad, Bombay and Nagpur. We hope he will succeed in establishing

a cultural relation with America of this University by his fresh efforts.

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### THE JUBILEE RESEARCH PRIZE IN SCIENTIFIC SUBJECTS FOR 1929.

The Jubilee Research Prize in Scientific Subjects for the year 1929, has been awarded to Dr. A. N. Sarkar, M.Sc. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond.), on his thesis entitled "Defraction of X-Rays and Determination of Molecular and Crystalline Structures."

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### MAHARAJA SIR J. M. TAGORE LAW MEDALS FOR 1920 AND 1921.

Maharaja Sir J. M. Tagore Law Medals for the years 1920 and 1921 have been awarded to the following candidates :—

- |       |    |                          |
|-------|----|--------------------------|
| 1920— | {  | 1. Sachindranath Rudra.  |
|       | 2. | Nrisinhachandra Basu.    |
| 1921— | {  | 1. Nrisinhachandra Basu. |
|       | 2. | Sachindranath Rudra      |

### THE NEXT ANNUAL CONVOCATION

His Excellency the Chancellor has approved of the programme for the next Annual Convocation to be held on the 8th February, 1930.

### RESULTS OF THE PRELIMINARY SCIENTIFIC M.B. EXAMINATION, 1929.

The number of candidates registered for the Preliminary Scientific M.B. Examination (under the New Regulations) held

in November, 1929, was 110 of whom 70 passed, 37 failed, none were expelled and 3 were absent.

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#### RESULTS OF THE FIRST M.B. EXAMINATION, 1929.

The number of candidates registered for the first M.B. Examination (under the New Regulations) held in November, 1929, was 91 of whom 55 passed, 34 failed, none were expelled and 2 were absent.

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#### RESULTS OF THE SECOND M.B. Examination, 1929

The number of candidates registered for the Second M.B. Examination (under the new Regulation) held in November, 1929, was 140 of whom 77 passed, 59 failed, none were expelled and 2 were absent.

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#### RESULTS OF THE THIRD M.B. EXAMINATION, 1929.

The number of candidates registered for the Third M.B. Examination (under the New Regulations), held in November, 1929, was 121 of whom 72 passed, 49 failed, none were expelled and none were absent. One candidate was registered for final M.B. Part II, Examination who having passed the Third M.B. Examination but failed at the Second M.B. Examination shall not be declared to have passed the Third M.B. Examination.

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#### RESULTS OF THE FINAL M.B. EXAMINATION, 1929.

The number of candidates registered for the Final M.B. Examination (New Regulations) held in November, 1929, was

274, of whom 125 passed, 135 failed, 14 were absent and none were expelled.

Of the successful candidates 7 obtained Honours in Midwifery, of the successful candidates at the Final M.B. Examination (New Regulations) 1 failed in Pathology at the Second M.B. Examination and 1 failed in Jurisprudence at the Third M.B. Examination and they are therefore not declared to have passed the Final M.B. Examination completely.

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#### PROMOTION OF INDO-CULTURAL RELATIONS.

(*Through The Activities of "Die Deutsche Akademie."*)

The regular annual conference of "*Die Deutsche Akademie*" was held at Jena, on the 18th of October, 1929. The Senators of the Akademie unanimously approved the programme of organising *The India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie*, to facilitate the work of promotion of cultural relations between Germany and India.

On the same date the Senators of the Akademie unanimously agreed to confer upon Taraknath Das, Dr. Phil., of Calcutta, who is a resident of New York and Munich, the distinction of an *Honorary Membership of Die Deutsche Akademie*. It may be mentioned that this award of a regular diploma of an Honorary Membership of Die Deutsche Akademie to Dr. Das was a unique event ; because in the history of the Akademie, it was the first time a non-German scholar has been honoured with such recognition.

On the 5th of November, 1929, a special meeting was held in the Studentenheim Munich, to complete the organisation of the India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie. A strong and influential Executive Committee was appointed to further the work of the India Institute. The Committee first composed of

the full wing persons : (1) Honourary President Geheimrat Prof. Dr. Frierich von Muller, the President of Die Deutsche Akademie, (2) President—Dr. F. von Winterstein, Regierungspräsident A.D., (3) Secretary—Dr. F. Thierfelder of Die Deutsche Akademie, (4) Prof. Dr. Aufhauser of the University of Munich, (5) Dr. Fritz Beck, Director of the Deutsche Akademische Auslandsstelle, Munich, (6) Dr. Taraknath Das, (7) Geheimrat Prof. Dr. Dorn of the Technical College of Munich, (8) Prof. Dr. Karl Haushofer of the University of Munich, (9) Prof. Dr. Oertel of the University of Munich, (10) Geheimrat Prof. Dr. Prinz of the Technical College of Munich, (11) Geheimrat Prof. Dr. Sommerfeld of the University of Munich.

Among various propositions for the promotion of cultural relations between India and Germany, discussed in this meeting by the Executive Committee of The India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie, was the need of a systematic programme for the exchange of professors between Indian and German universities—especially between the University of Munich of the Technical College of Munich and the University of Calcutta or some other institution of higher education in India.

After the meeting, the members of the India Institute and eleven Indian scholars, studying in Munich, were guests of Dr. Taraknath Das in a reception dinner given by him. On this occasion President Dr. von Winterstein of the India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie, welcoming the Indian scholars, expressed his hope that they (Indian scholars) through their labour and attainments in the educational world, will become very valuable assets to the national and cultural life of India and as well as prove to be a credit to Germany. *He further assured German sympathy to the people of India and hoped that better understanding between the great peoples of Germany and India will become a very important factor to the cause of World Peace.*

The authorities of the India Institute of "Die Deutsche Akademie" earnestly seek co-operation of those Indians who

are interested in promoting Indo-German cultural relations and will be glad to hear from them.

[Received by the Editor from the *Deutsche Akademie, Munich.*]

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#### THE INTER-UNIVERSITY BOARD, INDIA.

The following communication has been received for publication from the Inter-University Board, India.

Intimation has just been received through the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India in Council that the well-known "Opera Montessori" has organised at Rome under the auspices of the Italian Government a special international and practical course of teaching according to the Montessori method from the beginning of January until the end of June, 1930. The courses will consist of about 60 lessons on the theory of the system held three times a week by Dr. Mary Montessori; a course of about 70 practical lessons on the use of Material, under the supervision of Dr. Montessori or her Assistants and 50 seances of Observision individual work. The lessons will be held in Italian and translated into other languages. A Diploma of Ability in teaching the Montessori System will be granted to those who attend the complete course regularly and pass the relative examination test. The cost for the whole course is £30. The Montessori school will procure facilities at the hotels for those who so desire. All communications should be addressed to the "Opera Montessori", Ente Morale, Via Monte Zebio, 35, Rome, Italy.

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# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

The Oldest and Best Cultural Paper in India

*Illustrated Monthly*

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Here is a short list of *some* of the articles that were published in this *Review* during the last year (Oct, 1928—Sept. 1929).

1. Influence of Indian Thought on German Philosophy—Dr. Helmuth Von Glasenapp, Berlin, Germany.
2. German Thought of To-day—Dr. Helmuth Von Glasenapp, Berlin, Germany.
3. System of Education in Germany with Special Reference to the Study of Oriental Languages—Dr. Helmuth Von Glasenapp, Germany.
4. Jainism, its Historical Importance and its Relations to Other Religions of the World.—Dr. Helmuth Von Glasenapp, Germany.
5. Ten Years Later—Sir Michael E. Sadler, K.C.S.I., C.B., D. Litt., LL.D.
6. New Concepts of Matter and Radiation—Sir C. V. Raman, Kt., M.A., D. Sc., F.R.S.

7. Early Life of Buddha—Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D.
8. The Reform of Calcutta University—Prof. J. W. Gregory, F.R.S., D.Sc., M.I.M.M., Glasgow University.
9. Britons and Bengalis—Francis H. Skrine, I.C.S., F.R. Hist. S., London.
10. Affectations—Katharine M. Wilson, Aberdeen, Scotland.
11. Education Does Not Pay—L. D. Coueslant, B. Sc., Principal, Patna Engineering College.
12. Whom Should We Educate?—L. D. Coueslant, B. Sc.
13. England in Contemporary English Literature—F. V. Wells.
14. Present Tendency of Turkish Foreign Policy—Dr. Taraknath Daş, A.M., Ph.D., Munich, Germany.
15. Development of Negro Poetry—Gwendoline Goodwin, Sheffield.
16. The Unity of Empire Farming—Gilbert B. Hunter.
17. Societal Speculation in Eur-America with special reference to Economics and Politics—Benoykumar Sarkar, M.A.
18. The Date of Zoroaster—Priyaranjan Sen, M.A.
19. The Poetry of William Butler Yeats—by the Editor.
20. Life of the Celebrated Sevagy—Dr. Surendranath Sen, M.A., P.R.S., B. Litt., Ph.D.
21. India and the British Commonwealth of Nations—Dr. Taraknath Das, A.M., Ph.D., Munich, Germany.
22. English Poetic Diction, 1579-1830—Prof. Arthur Mowat, M.A.
23. Milton's 'Satan'—Prof. Arthur Mowat, M.A.
24. The Tyranny of the Body—Terésa Strickland.
25. Purchase of Sterling—B. Ramchandra Rau, M.A.
26. The Study of History and Research—Jitendrakumar Chakravarty, M.A.
27. Thomas Hardy—L. F. Stockwell.
28. Nehru Committee's Report (A Critical Study)—Akshaykumar Ghoshal.
29. True Ideal of a University—Dr. Abhaykumar Guha, M.A., Ph.D.

30. Plato and Plotinus on God—Dr. Abhaykumar Guha, M.A., Ph.D.
31. Old and Mediaeval Bengali Literature—Priyaranjan Sen, M.A.
32. Convocation Address of the University of Mysore—C. R. Reddy, M.A.
33. Address to All-Bengal Students' Conference—Rev. Dr. W. S. Urquhart, M.A., D. Litt.
34. Concept of Law—Haricharan Biswas.
35. The Character of the Teacher—Principal L. D. Coueslant, B.Sc.
36. The East in English Literature—Jayantakumar Dasgupta.
37. The Absolute Self—Wendell Thomas, B.S., M.A., S.T.M.
38. Convocation Address of the Andhra University—Prof. C. V. Raman, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S.
39. Some Observations on the High Price of Food Grains in India—Amiyakumar Dasgupta, M.A.
40. The Problem of Secondary Education—Prof. Haridas Bhattacharyya, M.A., Ph.D.
41. Raja Rammohan Ray—Rai Bahadur Chunilal Bose, C.I.E., I.S.O., M.B., F.C.S..
42. The Philosophy of Shelley—by the Editor.
43. Germany, Ten Years After the World War—Dr. Taraknath Das, A.M., Ph.D., Munich.
44. Examinations—Principal L. D. Coueslant, B.Sc.
45. Law and Morals—Prof. N. N. Ghose.
46. Law and the Other Sciences—Prof. N. N. Ghose.
47. Early Bank Note Issues and Their Lessons—B. Ramchandra Rau, M.A.
48. The March of the History of Philosophy—Dr. S. K. Maitra, M.A., Ph.D.
49. Place of Bradley in British Thought—Dr. Sarojkumar Das, M.A., Ph.D.
50. The Annual Convocation—the Vice-Chancellor.
51. His Excellency's Speech at the Calcutta University Convocation.

52. Early Phases of the History of Independence as it Developed in the British Colonies of North America—Elizabeth S. Kite, Washington.
53. Vocational Instruction—Principal L. D. Coueslant, B.Sc.
54. Hindu Religious Festivals and their Music—Lily S. Anderson, New York.
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# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

MARCH, 1930

## III—MATHEMATICS AND LITERATURE

### *Manipulation of Words.*

We shall examine more directly than we did in the first article the possible effect of a new outlook in mathematics on the teaching of the sciences. But it may not be too bold to essay first some consideration of relations it may have to studies less rigorous in attitude. These, however, would play but little part in classwork in mathematics.

Even the student of literature is expected to show some familiarity with the spirit of mathematical devices, especially of mathematical notation. The extreme compression that has been found acceptable in the Concise Oxford Dictionary is evidence that ability to work with a heavily-laden notation is to be expected of educated men. With less warning too than is usually given in mathematical books contractions like "C.O.D." (for the dictionary) are presented. The fact too that the Society for Pure English refers to itself, also without warning, as the "S.P.E." indicates that the old ban on the use of contractions in English prose has been relaxed. Perhaps the mathematician, who has had more experience of the use of symbols than any,

should have some part, even if indirect, in forming the standard of taste which will determine the abbreviations suitable for ordinary usage. Even he might regard askance the highly-respected geographer who, the other day, used "h.p." to denote "higgledy-pigglediness"! The statistician... ..well, no; he would preserve his peace.

### *The Infinitesimal.*

But students of literature are not confined in their mathematical walks to so unaspiring a path as mere nomenclature. In the short story "Savannah-la-Mar" De Quincey indulges in an eloquent reverie, the relevant part of which must here, for the mathematician's sake, be quoted *in extenso*; however, it may be that for the literator his is what a critic calls one of De Quincey's "tedious digressions." What he expresses is one of the fundamental ideas of the integral calculus:

"Put into a Roman clepsydra one hundred drops of water; let these run out as the sands in an hour glass, every drop measuring the one hundredth part of a second, so that each shall represent but the three-hundred and sixty-thousandth part of an hour. Now, count the drops as they race along; and when the fiftieth of the hundred is passing, behold! forty-nine are not, because already they have perished, and fifty are not, because they are yet to come. You see therefore, how narrow, how incalculably narrow, is the true and actual present. Of that time which we call the present, hardly a hundredth part but belongs either to a past which has fled, or to a future which is still on the wing. It has perished, or it is not born. It was, or it is not.

### *Infinitely False.*

"Yet even this approximation to the truth is *infinitely* false. For again subdivide that solitary drop, which only was found to

represent the present, into a lower series of similar fractions, and the actual present which you arrest measures now but the thirty-sixth-millionth of an hour ; and so by infinite declensions the true and the very present, in which only we live and enjoy will vanish into a mote of a mote, *distinguishable only by a heavenly vision*. Therefore the present, which only man possesses, offers less capacity for his footing than the slenderest film that ever spider twisted from her womb. Therefore also even this incalculable shadow from the narrowest pencil of moonlight is more transitory than geometry can measure, or thought of angel can overtake. The time which *is* contracts into a mathematic point; and even that point perishes a thousand times before we can utter its birth. All is finite in the present ; and even that finite is infinite in its velocity of flight towards death."

Whether some acquaintance with the calculus would be an aid to the appreciation of this is doubtful. Rather would the contribution of literature to mathematics be the greater ; for such richness of phrasing would be reckoned "difficult" in an elementary mathematical text-book, and yet it would certainly be more effective than the text-book in helping students away from the static school-final viewpoint. Only if the substance of the argument of the passage were to be criticised, might mathematical refinement point out that in this way of De Quincey's no progress in thought lies : but to explain this would be a good exercise for an advanced mathematical student; and so mathematics benefits again.

### *Method Revealed.*

Statistics most unexpectedly intrudes in the introduction to Weymouth's "The New Testament in Modern Speech." There a device is given for elucidating the use of connecting links between sentences in the Greek language, as contrasted with that in English. This device is nothing more than the primary

operation in the study of statistics. It is easy to imagine more interesting applications of it than to conjunctions. It has been applied, and with the critical apparatus of advanced statistics too, to contrast the use of dactyls by Virgil and by Ovid; and so in many other ways it might doubtless be used in helping to evaluate the factors that contribute to the peculiar quality of an author. It is easy also, of course, to imagine an overenthusiastic employment of so mechanical a device; it may be made but one more way to the contemplation of the mere bones of literature, or of the lowlier aspects of how our geniuses work, consciously or unconsciously. Had a student of literature, however, had the opportunity of gaining some experience of counting by this device in varied circumstances, he would fumble less in arranging how to use it, should the need arise, for his own problems. And even more important, his knowledge thus gained of some of the limitations and risks in the use of this tool would help him to preserve balance in the interpretation of results he may obtain.

#### IV—MATHEMATICS AND HISTORY.

##### *Vivid Representation.*

On the more scientific side of language study, as contrasted with the aspects considered in the preceding article, acquaintance with the liberty conferred by certain mathematical devices may be of considerable value. If the diagrams (in, say, the latest volumes of the Encyclopædia Britannica) which are now used to represent the classification of vowels according to the manner of their formation are examined, one cannot avoid the impression that the diagrams are wooden to a degree that ill accords with the amazing flexibility in use, and even the variety of the vocal organs. This must not be discussed further here, but

it may be remarked that the diagrams could with ease be generalised so as to be much more suggestive of what actually happens. They would then lend themselves to representing part of the activity, as well as the position, of the vocal organs. They might lead also to a notation more scientific than the scheme now accepted—which is only a modification of what has been handed down from the days when the nature of vowel sounds was much less clearly understood than now. This notation could be made more suggestive, and adapted to the comparison of sounds in different languages. (It may be of interest to note a not very successful attempt at graphical classification of vowels in Taylor's Gujarati Grammar.)

*Medicine leads.*

Distinctions of an ever more subtle and complex kind, even if less amenable to measurement than movements of the tongue, may be made clearer by the use of axes, the fundamental graphical device. Mr. Aldous Huxley gives a hint of this in an essay on Varieties of Intelligence, when he distinguishes horizontal and vertical differences in *intelligences* ! As an example, choose two scales at right angles, a horizontal scale of introversion and extraversion, and a vertical scale for I. Q. (Intelligence quotients) : points can then be plotted to give to show Mr. Huxley's or our own estimates of historical or fictitious persons in respect of these two capacities. Thus information could be effectively and concisely displayed, or opinions compactly summarised, and the scales of value we habitually apply even to our geniuses be made more vivid, so vivid at times that the contrasts are amusing.

This instrument, like the statistical one, is clearly dangerous in the hands of the simpleminded ; but there seems little reason why its controlled use should be restricted to students of medicine. In *Graphs and Statistics* is given an instance of how phenomena may be shown graphically from many

points of view. The character of human blood may be described by seven fundamental interrelated variables. When these seven variables are taken in pairs, and each pair related to each of the other five variables,\* there result one hundred and five graphs (actually drawn in the original paper) corresponding as it were, to one hundred and five aspects, each of which it is worth while to study. So, in the even greater complexity of literature a similarly flexible device for recording more or less partial results can usefully be made available.

### *Elements of History.*

The plotting of graded characteristics described above is evidently a device of wide applicability, especially to history as already hinted. But more important in historical study would be the use of a device than which nothing could be simpler—a uniform scale to represent the uniform flow of time. Spengler, in *The Decline of the West*, speaks of the tendency of historical study to dress up as a science, at the imminent risk of becoming a mere physics of public life. This which usually passes as history is after all only “historical spade-work”. All that is asked in it is whether things are correct or erroneous. This is a necessary preliminary question, and in disposing of it, once and for all, if that may be, the orderliness and the conciseness made possible by the above device ought to be of considerable service to the student of history; and likewise to the student of “periods” of literature.

The scale, sometimes called a line of time, is most conveniently marked down the left hand edge of the page, and the events inserted at their appropriate places. Notwithstanding its simplicity, this expedient has not been adopted in textbooks as freely as would seem desirable. The reason probably is, on the one hand, that this arrangement is apt to be much more wasteful of space in printing than, say, a list of dates, and, on the other, that it is often very difficult to print a date

chart effectively. However, the special value of these historical charts lies in their being so simple to write, and so adaptable in respect of the time-scale, that the student can construct them for himself according to his particular need or interest. From the point of view of the teacher the device should be specially welcome, as it affords evidence of intelligent work done by the student which is comparatively readily gauged. To the student too it need not be irksome, for it provides an effective check on the accuracy and consistency of the sources whence he derives his facts and suggests points of interest to which he might otherwise be insensitive.

### *Chronology.*

But the provision of a uniform time-scale, effective though it be, is scarcely a worthy contribution by mathematics to such study. The device can be elaborated (or rather, simplified, in that writing is thus reduced to a minimum) by drawing lines, other than the time-scale, with specific senses, *e.g.*, to exhibit the duration of a war, or activity of any kind. Thus the facts occurring in a particular period can be exhibited in relation to one another in a simple way, in small compass, and with just as much detail as seems desirable. (An attempt may be made to reproduce one such scheme in connection with articles to appear in *The Calcutta Review*.)

All this is but a clearing of the way for exposition and interpretation of the facts, for "deep and pure historical research," for history treated poetically. It may indeed be that in actual working out things may not be as simple as this reference suggests: but, to an outsider at any rate, there does appear to be need for making historical and literary study much less of a memory, and more of a critical and appreciative, exercise than it is at present. A graphical form of representation may well be used to "sharpen the images" in time and to "work up the outlines of epoch and fact for the understanding



eye," to be filled in thereafter in a colourful way by the student.

As an example of a possible modification not usually advantageous may be mentioned an interesting suggestion. The relatively greater importance of the recent past in history may be shown by using either a logarithmic or a hyperbolic instead of a uniform time-scale : this would give a truer psychological representation, and it would bring remote ages with ease into the picture. But the psychological importance of eras like the Renaissance does not depend upon their position in time ; and to attempt to introduce the psychological into the graph may be transferring the duty of live interpretation to the mechanical device.

We shall next consider some uses of elementary graphs and statistics where they most fittingly apply—to Science, and in more detail to Agriculture.<sup>1</sup>

JOHN MACLEAN

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted from "*The Times of India*," dated 1st July and 8th July, 1929.

## THE INDIAN STATES AND MINTS AND COINAGE

### 1. *The Present Position.*

A number of the Indian States had their own mints and coined their own money in the past. A few States still retain their mints and currencies. Much pressure, however, it has been frankly admitted by the Butler Committee, has been brought to bear upon them in the course of the last half century to close their mints and accept the imperial currency—such States claim the right to re-open their mints. These and other States have also laid claim to a share of the profits of the currency and also to an effective voice in settling its general policy.

### 2. *The Butler Committee's Views.*

The Butler Committee thinks that if the States were to have their separate currency, there would be danger of its manipulation and, as a consequence, of serious injury to trade. They, therefore, strongly hold that the multiplication of different currencies would adversely affect the best interests of the States and the country as a whole. As regards the profits of the currency, the Committee was informed that they were not appreciable so far as metallic currency was concerned, while the profits on the paper currency, according to the Committee, are due to the credit of British India. Still, as regards the latter profits the Committee recommends that some allowance may be made on their account in any financial settlement that may be made with individual States or group of States.

### 3. *Separate Currencies.*

The question of allowing the States to reopen their mints is essentially a question of their prerogative. They know,

like the Butler Committee, that the profits of metallic currency are inappreciable, but what matters to them is not so much the extent of the profits as the recognition of their right. The Butler Committee itself testifies to the fact that there are few subjects on which the States feel more strongly than in regard to this one of mints and currency. Such feeling is not confined to the States alone—it is conspicuously noticeable in the West also. Thus the British Crown also attaches great importance to this royal prerogative, and currency figures prominently among the earlier cases of disallowance in the self-governing Dominions. It is a singular irony of fate that while the Colonies which could not point to any past right possess their own mints, the States with all their sovereign right should be compelled to part with them. The Butler Committee apprehends that as soon as the right of the States to re-open their mints is conceded, any number of mints will necessarily spring up in utter defiance of the counsel of wisdom. The prerogative to coin money has actually fallen into disuse in several States as a result of sheer stress of economic factors. They should justify confidence in the economic conditions working out their natural course in the generality of cases. Again, if a mint is actually started, it would not necessarily coin a currency different from that of British India. As the Butler Committee rightly observes, “the advantages of the imperial currency are so obvious.” There is thus no substantial ground for the apprehension that the mints of the States would result in a dangerous multiplicity of currencies. On the other hand, the enlightened self-interest of the States is a sufficient guarantee that they will welcome any proposals of experts for an arrangement between them and British India, which duly safeguard their financial interests. Thus the only important question that would arise would be one of participation of the States in the profits of the British Indian system of mints and coinage. Again, it would surely not be beyond human ingenuity to avoid the multiplication of different currencies.

#### 4. *Example of the Colonies.*

Canada recognises the royal prerogative, but is able to strike coins for use in Canada. Similarly the Newfoundland legislation of 1910 on the subject received the royal approval in due course. Until 1909 the Commonwealth of Australia obtained what coins they desired from the Treasury on paying the face value, while the British Government remained responsible for carriage, the renewal of worn-out coins and so forth, Australia receiving on the other hand the benefit of the profits on the coinages. In 1907 an arrangement was made by which the Commonwealth was to have a coinage system of its own, which should be special to Australia, and on which it should receive the profits, though the coinage is manufactured in London. There are at present subordinate mints at Melbourne since 1872, Sydney since 1855, Perth since 1898 and Ottawa since 1907. The cost of the mints is provided by the colonial Government concerned who receive the profits of the coinage. The gold coins struck at these mints are valid tender wherever British gold coin is valid tender. There is also local legislation in Canada regarding local coinages, the rates and values of dollars and cents and the acceptance of foreign coin such as the American coin. There is also a new silver coinage in the Commonwealth. The royal pleasure is always taken as to the inscriptions on coins and so forth. These arrangements point to the desirability of an investigation with a view to finding out a feasible solution for the demand of the Indian States in respect of a recognition of their prerogative without disturbing the economic fabric of the country. The question of preventing a mismanagement of currency should not baffle human ingenuity.

#### 5. *A Share of the Profits.*

The question of practical importance is that of participation of the States in the profits of the British

Indian currency system. According to the Butler Committee, the profits on paper currency are due entirely to the credit of British India, while those of the metallic currency are inappreciable. It cannot, however, be denied that, whenever necessary, the States have freely given their co-operation in helping the credit of British India. It would be enough in this connection to cite the instance of the share borne by the States in the maintenance of this credit on the occasion of the declaration by the Government of India of a moratorium at a critical juncture during the Great War. An investigation would indeed throw further light on the question as to what part the States have had in the building up of the present homogeneity of the country, which had also materially promoted its credit. The entire currency policy has all along been framed and enforced by the British authorities, as if the whole map of India were red, and they did not spare even the machinery of pressure. The States had thus to suffer, no less than British India, from all the defects of the system, such as, (1) its great complexity, (2) its highly expensive character, (3) its liability to vanish on the rise of the price of silver above a certain level, (4) a cumbrous duplication of reserves, (5) a dangerous division of responsibility for the control of credit and currency policy, (6) the failure of the system to secure automatic expansion and contraction of currency, (7) the autocracy of the currency authority, and (8) the inelasticity of the system. It has been freely admitted in the Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Currency and Finance 1926 that "In consequence of these defects the system has not the confidence of the public," and that "when allowance has been made for all misunderstanding and misapprehensions, the fact remains that a large measure of distrust in the present system is justified by its imperfections." Thus the States have been subjected, in common with the rest of India, to the evils of these defects and they cannot, therefore, be fairly denied a share in such profits as the system with all its defects yields. The Butler Committee suggests that an allowance on account of

these profits may be made only in respect of the individual States or group of States with which any financial settlement may be made. But the application of the general currency policy to the States proceeded irrespective of any considerations of prospective financial settlement, and no state, however small, it would seem, should be excluded from its benefits, when such a concession is made. The actual basis on which the profits of the currency policy may be distributed will, of course, have to be settled with the help of the advice of the experts to be selected by the interests affected and on their mutual agreement. It will further have to be provided that the States should have an effective voice in the settlement of the general policy of the country regarding mints and currency.

#### 6. *The Solution.*

If a happy solution of the problem is to be reached, it would seem to be necessary in the first instance to have a Committee of experts to thoroughly go into the whole question of the mutual rights and interests of the parties concerned and also of the conditions of the problem with particular reference to the needs of the country as a whole and make proposals so as to bring about general agreement. These proposals would command respect and weight, and form an excellent basis for a negotiation of an arrangement between British India and the States. Such of the difference as might remain in the course of the negotiation could be settled by a Committee, recommended by the Butler Committee, consisting of a representative of the States and a representative of British India with an impartial Chairman of not lower standing than a High Court Judge. Only the decision of such a Committee, if it is to inspire due confidence, will have to be made binding on the parties instead of merely advisory as suggested by the Butler Committee.

## THE BENGAL LAND-HOLDER—SUB-DIVISION, FRAGMENTATION AND SUB-INFEUDATION

### V

We have already indicated the confusion which arises from sub-infeudation combined with the co-parcenary system of proprietorship and interlacing of interests. The great uncertainty which arises from this cause, may be realised from the following extract taken from the Bakharganj Settlement Report: "In the preparation of the record-of-rights, it was found that the system was too complicated for the people who lived under it. Those who owned land very often did not know what land it was they owned, and those who cultivated did not know the title or estate of their landlords. The settlement camps were indeed regarded somewhat as lost property offices. Landlords came to find their lands, and tenants came to find their landlords."<sup>1</sup>

It may be hoped that the completion of Settlement operations would bring this state of confusion to an end. But this brings out in a striking manner, how as a result of sub-infeudation, a great landlord class has grown up, who live on the land, but are yet removed from it. By a tragic irony of circumstances, the connection with land of the greater number of those who have proprietary interest in it is not close enough to enable them to take an interest in its development or improvement. When almost every plot of land belongs to so many groups of people, whose interests in it are of various grades and of varying nature, and most of whom live away from it, it can hardly be expected that anybody should take an abiding interest in it. The landlord class in Bengal have been very often

<sup>1</sup> Bakharganj Settlement Report, p. 43.

blamed for living as parasites on the land, who live away from it and do nothing for its improvement. It may be pointed out here that most improvements mean a certain amount of initial expenditure ; and as a rule the Bengal landlords are not a wealthy class. According to the Land-Revenue Administration Report of 1927-28, the gross-rental in that year was Rs. 15,19,27,364 and the land-revenue demand for the same area was Rs. 2,93,20,801. This excess of 12·26 crores of rupees were divided among the following classes and number of land-owners :—

		Rs.
Land-Revenue-paying estates	...	1,06,226
Land-Revenue-free estates	...	30,703
Rent-free lands	... ..	28,307
Tenures	... ..	47,83,565
TOTAL	...	49,48,801

If every separate interest in land was held by one person, it would mean about Rs. 25 per head. Of course there are abwabs and various kinds of landlord's fees. On the other hand it must be remembered that most of these estates and tenures are held by co-sharer landlords. It may be conceded that averages are misleading when too literally interpreted, and that there is a numerous body of men who have the means and opportunity to improve the land to which they owe their prosperity. But it remains that the great majority of the middle-class population of Bengal who are connected with land are in a sad plight, and have perforce to live away from it, in order to supplement the very meagre income from this source.

Unfortunately, the tenancy laws make the situation worse. The results of any improvement can be directly enjoyed only by the raiyats and their immediate landlords. The intermediary interests are mostly permanent annuitants at fixed rates and would not directly participate in the benefits of any increased production from land. Neither can they interfere in



the management of land or claim any legal right to make any improvement in it. Land improvement means knowledge, money, initiative, and the capacity to organise. Those who are in actual possession of the land, and their immediate landlords can, in most cases, hardly claim to have any of these. Those who are comparatively better placed, have neither the incentive of self-interest nor the legal right to make any improvements, even if they wanted to;<sup>1</sup> and as we have seen the complicated nature of title in land is anything but an encouragement to the investment of money in land.

During the last half-century many laws have been enacted to improve the lot of the raiyats; and many noble attempts have been directed to the same end. But agricultural operations are still carried on by methods which were used centuries ago; the cultivator still plods his way through poverty, ignorance and disease with little hope and less enjoyment in life. Is it surprising when we see that all the possibilities of improvement are blocked by the system under which agriculture is worked? The present condition is but the inevitable result of the circumstances under which we have been working. If agriculture is to be improved, these must be tackled at the root.

## VI

Various measures have been suggested and examined from time to time to meet the difficulties enumerated above. Among these the scheme of consolidating fragmented holdings as worked out in the Punjab has rightly attracted wide attention. But in Bengal, it seems to have been tacitly taken for granted that the difficulties in the way of working out any scheme of consolidation are insuperable. A critical examination of this assumption may not be useless.

There are certain difficulties partly psychological, which are inherent in the present-day rural life of Bengal and which

<sup>1</sup> See evidence of Sir P. C. Mitter before the Taxation Enquiry Committee.

must be faced by any body of people who work for rural uplift. These are due to the age-long conservatism of the peasant classes, the inevitable suspicion of any interference with their possession and ownership of land-rights, and sometimes the strained relations between the cultivators and their landlords and among the cultivators themselves. These difficulties cannot be ignored, but they never can be an excuse for inactivity, but can certainly be overcome by sustained and systematic organised effort.

But there are other difficulties which are to a certain extent peculiar to Bengal, and which present more serious obstacles to progress. The most important arises from the complex nature of the land-system in Bengal, specially sub-infeudation and co-partnership. It has been said, that, "where there are more than a dozen middlemen between the zamindar and the actual cultivator, it will require the consent of at least 24 persons to consolidate two small pieces of land."<sup>1</sup> It has also been said that consolidation of holdings will mean fragmentation of tenures, and this will be resented by the tenure-holders.<sup>2</sup> The difficulty presented by this factor is certainly great, but it must not be exaggerated. The assumption that for any exchange of plots the consent of all those who have an interest in the holdings is necessary is not correct.

It is evident that where the raiyats concerned hold land from the same landlord, whose consent is available, consolidation can be proceeded with without the consent of the superior interests though the immediate landlord may be but the last link in a long chain of intermediary interests. For the raiyats' immediate landlord is responsible for all the plots concerned and so long as he does not change the extent and character of his tenure, the superior landlords have no right to interfere with the internal management and disposal of his land. To take a

<sup>1</sup> Choudhuri, *The History and Economics of the Land System in Bengal*, p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> Memorandum by Messrs. Finlow and McLean before the Royal Commission. See also the Evidence of Mr. Burrows before the Commission.

more complicated instance, suppose B and C are both tenure-holders under A. For any scheme of consolidation affecting the raiyats holding under B and C, the consent of A as well as B and C will be necessary, in so far as it affects the tenures of B and C. But when this is available, the consent of any other superior landlord will not be required, though A himself may be only a tenure-holder, and there may be many middlemen intervening between him and the ultimate proprietor, all having an intermediary interest in the same land. It is clear that consolidation of holdings within the same tenure does not affect its extent or character. Where more than one tenure are affected, though it may change their relative physical positions, consolidation of holdings does not, in any sense, mean fragmentation of tenures. On the other hand, in so far as they will have compact holdings under them, the process will to a certain extent make the tenures more compact. In fact the tenure-holders have nothing to lose.

How far it is feasible to work out any scheme of consolidation under these restricted and comparatively favourable conditions may be indicated by the following figures taken from the Settlement Reports of the various districts, showing to what extent raiyats hold directly from the proprietor without the intervention of any middlemen. Excluding the area retained in their immediate possession the proprietors of Dacca District have leased out 64 per cent. of the total area of their estates to raiyats direct. In Bakarganj, 14 per cent. of the land of private states are so held by the raiyats from the proprietors. But in some estates the land so held is a considerable proportion of the whole. It is 88 per cent. in Alinagar, 57 per cent. in Shaistabad, 56 per cent. in Ramnagar, 38 per cent. in Idilpur, and about 30 per cent. in Habibpur and Haveli. In Faridpur the proprietors of private estates in the district have leased out 35 per cent. of their lands to the raiyats direct. These instances are taken from Eastern Bengal Districts where sub-infeudation has proceeded further than in the other parts. It is likely that if the unit of operation be carefully selected, quite a large number of estates

and villages will be found where consolidation may be feasible inspite of the general complicated nature of the land system. Moreover consolidation may be tried under specially favourable conditions in the estates under the direct management of the Government, including those belonging to private proprietors but managed by Government as well as those owned by Government as proprietor. In 1927-28, there were 2,751 such estates covering 4,707 square miles with a revenue demand of Rs. 55,81,117. That even the difficulty of co-sharer landlords is not insuperable provided a well-directed attempt is made, is shown by the experience in Birbhum where a large area has been consolidated by private effort.

Consolidation works, according to the Punjab scheme, by the substitution of a compact block in place of scattered plots ; and this is brought about by exchange of land belonging to different land-holders, so that contiguous plots may be put in the same holding. This is done with due regard to the extent and value of the original holdings, and differences may be adjusted by cash-payments. But here we are confronted with a tremendous difficulty in Bengal, in so far as in any transfer by exchange each party has to pay a landlord's fee of 5 per cent. of the value of the land transferred or  $1\frac{1}{4}$  times its annual rent. The landlord's fee in case of any other transfer is 20 per cent. of the value of the property or 5 times the annual rent. During the discussion in Council of the Bengal Tenancy Amendment Bill (1928) which legalised and fixed the landlord's fee on transfer, the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Bill, Sir P. C. Mitter, said that the landlord's fee was fixed at lower rates in case of transfer by exchange in order to encourage such transfers for the improvement of agricultural conditions. It is possible, this may have the desired effect in individual cases where people may agree to exchanges on personal and other grounds. But there can be no doubt that this provision [Sec. 26 D (c) of the Bengal Tenancy Act] present an almost insuperable obstacle in the way of any scheme of consolidation

by exchange. People may be educated to see the value of consolidation ; but to expect the raiyat to suffer an immediate tangible pecuniary loss in order to secure the prospective benefits of the promised improvements in agricultural conditions is neither reasonable nor calculated to inspire them with confidence. Nor can they very well afford it, in their present circumstances. It is essential, therefore, that in areas where consolidation of holdings are attempted, the landlord's fee on transfer by exchange should be, at least temporarily, abolished. This may raise practical difficulties by alienating the sympathy of the landlords ; but in the larger interests of agriculture and of the landlords themselves, their objection should not be allowed to stand in the way of a very useful agricultural reform. And as the landlords will not be directly injured, but only suffer from the loss of prospective income which might not materialise at all, it is probable that by tactful handling by the officers concerned their consent and co-operation may be secured.

Consolidation is not a new or untried experiment. It has been tried in the Punjab with conspicuous success. Up to 1928, 133,000 blocks have been consolidated and their number reduced to 25,300. The average area of each block has increased from 0·7 to 3·8 acres. The cost per acre varies from Rs. 1-6 to Rs. 2-11 and is likely to decrease as the staff becomes more expert and the people more willing.<sup>1</sup>

Of course measures to meet the special difficulties in Bengal will have to be carefully thought out and much spade work will have to be done. Steady, systematic and persistent propaganda will be necessary to make the people appreciate the benefits of having compact holdings, and give consolidation a chance. Unending patience and tact will be necessary to overcome unreasonableness, obstinacy and suspicion. Special legislation may be necessary to meet the case of tenants who have different rights in their land ; in cases where minors

<sup>1</sup> Report of Royal Commission on Agriculture, p. 139.

and widows are concerned, and where lands are under mortgage. Perhaps, there may be some initial failures and disappointments. But once the experiment is worked out successfully in some places the movement will grow on its own momentum. The problem is important and urgent, and as the Royal Commission has said, "difficulties should not be allowed to become an excuse for inactivity."

In order that valuable work done by months of painstaking labour with the consent and co-operation of the greater number of the people concerned may not be ruined by the obstinacy of a recalcitrant minority, it is inevitable that legislative compulsion will have to be introduced in the end. But where matters so fundamental as rights in land are concerned, it is essential that compulsion should not be introduced until public opinion is more ripe for it and except as a last resort. It is essential that any scheme of agrarian reform should not only be just and beneficial, but be understood and appreciated by the people as such. We should suggest that a scheme on the lines adopted in the Punjab should be introduced and worked out with purely administrative measures. This may be done either by officers of the co-operative department as in the Punjab; or a special revenue officer with settlement experience may be deputed with a small staff working either under the Registrar of co-operative societies or the Director of Agriculture. This will at least serve as an opportunity of ascertaining the real difficulties, and educating public opinion, and pave the way for legislative measures in the light of the experience gained by such methods.

Government may also encourage consolidation by various concessions. We have already seen that it is essential to abolish the landlords' fees on transfer by exchange in case of those who join any scheme of consolidation. The stamp and registration duties and the process fee for service of notice on the landlord may also suitably be remitted in these cases. Government should also bear, at the initial stages, part of the

working expenses, such as of surveying and re-planning and the remapping of the area, and the setting up of boundary marks. People may also be induced to join by making provisions to consider their cases specially in cases of financial assistance such as under the Land Improvement Loans Act.

It is evident that in any scheme of consolidation in Bengal, the unit should be tenants who in most cases have permanent hereditary rights in their land. The work therefore will proceed on the basis of ownership. But it is also evident that this will to a great extent remove fragmentation of cultivating units, as most of these people are cultivating tenants. This is also supported by the experience of the Punjab experiment. Of course as mere consolidation will not remove the cases of fragmentation, these holdings may again be sub-divided and scattered after a few years. But it is permissible to hope, that once people enjoy and appreciate the benefits of consolidation they will not allow their holdings to be fragmented in the future.

This brings us to the other part of the question. It is necessary to consolidate fragmented holding; but it is equally important that the tendency for holdings to be sub-divided and scattered should be checked. Mere consolidation does not affect the root of the evil and would not eradicate it permanently.

In so far as fragmentation is due to the customary method of dividing family property, the best remedy seems to be the educative effect which actual working of any scheme of consolidation will have on the people. But prevention of sub-division presents a more serious problem. Both sub-division and fragmentation are to a certain extent due to transfer of parts of holdings in various ways. Any restriction on the alienation of land, would therefore, check both these evils to a certain extent. But any such restriction would impair the credit of the agriculturist, and prevent the free-play of economic forces which tend to bring land in the most capable hands. Moreover, if any restriction be put on the partition of holdings, a cultivator, in case of necessity, would be obliged to sell or

mortgage the whole holding even though a part would suffice to raise the money. These restrictions are sure to be defeated by practical sales effected under the guise of sub-letting and mortgage. Moreover, it is a serious interference with a very important and cherished right of the tenant, which has been formally recognised and given explicit legal sanction in Bengal only last year. These considerations, therefore, rule this measure out of practical politics in Bengal.

The other suggestion which has found wide currency, is the creation of impartible economic holdings, and of putting a legal limit below which no holding can be sub-divided. One effect of this will be the creation of a large body of landless proletariat, all of whom may not be absorbed in agriculture under the altered circumstances; and they will find few alternative employments in industry. Such a result evidently is fraught with grave social and economic consequences. But apart from this and other economic and administrative considerations which this measure gives rise to it interferes with the existing laws of succession, a result which can only be contemplated on wider and more fundamental grounds. Such a measure, therefore, cannot be enacted on agrarian considerations only.

A way has been sought to avoid this difficulty by suggesting that the heirs should inherit according to the present laws, but the entire holdings should be put to auction, only the reversioners and the co-sharers being entitled to bid; in other words, that one of the co-sharers should buy up the others. But it is evident that such a sale would be subject to very abnormal influences. Ordinarily, the property would not realise its full value in such a narrowly limited market, and the co-sharers who will have to be compensated will not get their proper share. On the other hand, where there is excessive attachment to the family property, as is not infrequent, the co-sharers may be tempted to make bids out of all proportion to the true value of the property. In any case the successful bidder would have to start with a heavy initial debt which in



most cases he will not be able to bear. For the others, in the absence of alternative employment, the provision may be anything but a blessing.

A proper remedy seems to lie in co-operative farming by the co-sharers. Holdings should not be divided; they should be cultivated jointly. But the division of interest should be retained by the division of the produce according to the respective shares of the co-owners. It is hardly possible to enforce joint farming by law when the division in ownership is recognised; and the idea can only be worked out on a voluntary basis. It should be remembered that holdings in Bengal are mostly too small for progressive farming. Consolidation and prevention of further fragmentation will be a vast improvement on the present position; but the holdings should still be too small for the economic application of labour, capital, and skilled direction. Co-operative farming opens vast possibilities in this direction. It need not be confined to co-owners; it may comprise neighbouring cultivators, whose lands may be treated as a homogeneous whole for purposes of cultivation. The co-operative department has until recently confined its attention to credit societies; purchase and sale and irrigation societies are now being formed in certain places. There is no reason why the department should not examine the possibilities of co-operative production in agriculture. Work on these lines is sure to meet a distinct need of the province. Bengal, being a land of small farmers, is the more suited for co-operative farming, because the small cultivator is the more sensible of small economies. Another advantage is that the methods and forms of farming are more or less similar and therefore suitable for co-operative experiment. We have seen that one of the essentials of advanced farming is adequate land where improved methods and appliances can be profitably utilised.<sup>1</sup> This can only be done by inducing neighbouring

<sup>1</sup> In view of the inadequacy of the average holding to enable the economic working of advanced methods, the following extracts taken from the evidence of Mr. G. S. Hender-

cultivators to pool their resources together, land, and otherwise. It is the declared policy of the Government to encourage and promote the formation of agricultural associations <sup>1</sup> which may conduct various agricultural operations on a co-operative basis. Efforts in these directions may profitably be co-related with schemes of co-operative farming. Both the co-operative and the agricultural departments will perhaps find it useful to explore the possibilities of forming co-operative organisations of neighbouring cultivators for joint production as suggested in these pages. -

One thing is certain. Private initiative or the working of natural forces cannot be trusted to remedy the evils of rural Bengal. As it happens, the Province does not seem to be very happy in voluntary efforts in matters agricultural. Hardly any effort has been made in large-scale farming on modern lines even where there is ample scope for it, such as in lands in the private possession of zaminders or tenure-holders. Besides there are many reasons why the intervention of the state is essential. No private organisation would create the same confidence in the agriculturist, in matters where confidence is so vital, as the Government departments would. Neither has any private organisation the same resources or the expert staff to carry on the work. As we have seen, at any rate, at the initial stages, state

son, Imperial Agriculturist, Pusa (Report of the Royal Commission, Vol. I, Part II), may be of interest :—

Mr. Calvert. A. 1293. The major part of this country is cultivated in small holdings up to about 12 to 15 acres. Do you think the methods you are working out now are suitable for small cultivator?—No.

A. 1294. As far as I have seen, practically no attempt is being made to work out the type of cultivation suitable for these small holdings?—That, I presume, is being done by the Provinces.

A. 1295. We have not yet found any Province where it is done. This machinery which you showed us is not suitable for the 3 acre man?—No.

A. 1296. There is nothing being done here to try and improve agriculture as it is understood by 90 per cent. of the agriculturists?—We are working on specialised problems. But although, as you say, the larger proportion of Indians cultivate it in very small fragments, still there is a very large amount which is cultivated in big estates.

<sup>1</sup> Resolution of Rev. Dept. No. 681 T. B., dated Darjeeling, the 7th June, 1919.

help and encouragement is a necessity. Moreover, many of the agrarian reforms would affect legal rights and valuable interests, and legislative enactments will be necessary. The experience of European countries also teach us that in experiments like consolidation of holdings, though voluntary efforts played an important part, very little could be achieved, until the State actively intervened.

The danger of leaving matters to adjust themselves is not imaginary, specially in India. Not unoften, it is believed, ".....that for a general increase in the size of holdings, we must look to the working of economic forces—such as the growth of urban industries, which, by reducing the pressure on the soil, would facilitate the transition;—rather than to legislative action." <sup>1</sup> In connection with the often repeated suggestion that the redundant labour on the land may be absorbed in industries, it is not always remembered that in Bengal the percentage of industrial (including mines) to district population is only 7·8. As the Fiscal Commission remarked, " even if the development of industries in the near future is very rapid, the population withdrawn from the land will be but a small proportion " (Report, p. 27). These considerations represent a strong case for a bold and active policy of agrarian reform on the part of the state.

*(Concluded.)*

J. C. GHOSH

<sup>1</sup> Resolution No. 2308/1A—209—1924 Rev. Dept., dated Allahabad, the 27th May, 1924.

## SHORT ESSAYS ON CHAUCER

CHAUCER'S SOCIAL POSITION AS SHOWN FROM THE  
FACTS OF HIS LIFE

Kittredge says, "It is vastly fortunate that Chaucer was born high enough in the social scale not to need holy orders as a means of escape from cramping circumstances. Otherwise, a great poet would have been spoiled to make an indifferent parson." He, no doubt, still would have been a poet, but not the same Chaucer. If he had been born an aristocrat he would not have understood other classes of people—and the world would have been the loser. The *Troilus* we might have had, yes, but not the *Canterbury Tales*. It is, therefore, fortunate that he took an active part in business life, for that gave him the opportunity to study various types of people, which one finds in the *Canterbury Tales*.

Chaucer's family came from the burgher class, which had some kind of court influence, since he became page to the Countess of Ulster, and was later connected with the royal household. It is known that he went abroad seven times on diplomatic business to France, Italy, and Flanders. These trips were concerned with war questions, commerce, and the king's marriage. It is evident that Chaucer had a broad and intimate acquaintance with the life of his time. It is evident also that he saw many of the most remarkable European cities of his day, and that he grappled with the astute old counsellors who surrounded Charles the Wise and again with the English adventurer whose prowess was a household word throughout Italy.

It is rather interesting to note that Chaucer, on St. George's day, 1374, received the grant of a pitcher of wine daily for life, "to be received in the port of London from the hands of the

*King's butler.*" St. George's was a day of solemn feasting in the Round Tower of Windsor. One must remember also that Chaucer was made Comptroller of the Customs and Subsidies. Then he received a life pension from John of Gaunt as well as from the King. In 1386 he was elected to sit in Parliament as Knight of the Shire for the county of Kent. Chaucer, who lived in one of the most brilliant epochs of English history, was in turn a courtier, a soldier, a business man, an ambassador, Justice of the Peace, a Member of Parliament, Thames Conservator, a Clerk of the Works, and even a lover.

A REVIEW OF THE FACTS OF CHAUCER'S LIFE WHICH SHOW  
THAT HE WAS A MAN OF AFFAIRS AS WELL AS A  
MAN OF LETTERS

The name Chaucer was originally significant of an occupation. The Old French *Chaucer*<sup>1</sup> signified a hosier instead of a shoemaker, although it was sometimes used in the latter sense. The modern French *chausse* represents a Low Latin *calcia*, a kind of hose. It is likely that the Chaucer family came originally from East Anglia. Henry le Chaucer is mentioned as a citizen of Norfolk in 1275; and likewise Walter le Chaucer in 1292.<sup>2</sup> In several early cases the name occurs in connection with *Cordewanerstrete*, or with the small Ward of the City of London which bore the same name. Baldwin le Chaucer lived in *Cordewanerstrete* in 1307; Elyas le Chaucer lived in the same place in 1318-1319; Nicholas Chaucer also lived in the same place in 1353; and Henry Chaucer, a man-at-arms, provided for the king's service by *Cordewanerstrete* Ward. Chaucer's father and his grandmother lived, at one time, on this same street.

<sup>1</sup> See Godefroy's *Old French Dictionary*.

<sup>2</sup> *The Athenaeum*, Nov. 25, 1876, p. 688.

The earliest relative with whom one is able to connect the poet, with any degree of certainty, is Robert, his grandfather. He, with his wife, Mary, in 1307, sold ten acres of land in Edmonton to Ralph le Clerk for 100s.<sup>1</sup> Robert le Chaucer, on August 2, 1310, was appointed a collector of the new customs upon wines granted by the merchants of Aquitaine. Robert Chaucer was married about 1307 to a widow whose name was Maria or Mary Heyroun; and the only child of whom there has been any mention made was his son and heir, John, who was the father of the poet. Maria, however, had a son still living whose name was Thomas Heyroun. He died in 1349. John Chaucer was born in 1312 and his father, Robert, died before 1316. In 1323 his widow married her third husband, Richard le Chaucer, who was probably a cousin of her second husband. Richard le Chaucer was "one of the vintners sworn at St. Martin's Vintry, in 1320, to make proper scrutiny of wines." Thus, one can see that he was likely brought into business relations with Robert whose widow he married in 1323. Richard Chaucer was a wealthy man (according to Riley's Memorials). There is not a great deal to be found about Chaucer's father, John. He was born about 1329 or later. His wife's name was Agnes. On June 12, 1338, John Chaucer obtained letters of protection on his expedition to Flanders for the king. In February and November, 1348, John is referred to as being deputy to the king's butler in the port of Southampton. In 1349 he was executor to the will of his half-brother, Thomas Heyroun. His name, with his wife's, appears in a conveyance of property, dated January 16, 1366. He passed on shortly afterwards at about the age of fifty-four. His widow married again in a few months, for she is described in a deed dated May 6, 1367, as being the wife of Bartholomew atte Chapel, citizen and vintner of London. The date of her death is unknown.

The exact date of Geoffrey Chaucer's birth is not known. It has been a subject of dispute for some years. The year 1340, however, seems to be the most likely date. On several occasions an attendant on the Countess is designated as Philippa Pan, which is supposed to be the contracted form of Panetaria, or mistress of the pantry. Dr. E. A. Bond says that "speculations suggest themselves that the Countess's attendant Philippa may have been Chaucer's future wife. The Countess died in 1363...and nothing would be more likely than that the principal lady of her household should have found shelter after her death in the family of her husband's mother," Queen Philippa. Chaucer, no doubt, at Hatfield, gained some knowledge of the Northern dialect, which he used in the *Reves Tale*. The non-Chaucerian Fragment B of the *Romaunt of the Rose* shows some traces of a Northern dialect, but Fragment A, which is Chaucer's, shows no trace of that dialect.

Chaucer was probably a page in the household of the Countess of Ulster (if he was born in 1340). If he had been born before 1340, he would have been too old to be a page in 1357. It is known, however, that he was attached to the service of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, and of the Countess of Ulster, as early as the beginning of 1357. It is said that Chaucer accompanied the Countess when she attended the funeral of Queen Isabella (the mother of King Edward), which took place at the Church of the Minors, in Newgate Street on November 27, 1358.

In November 1359, Chaucer joined the expedition of Edward III to France. During this time, he fell into the hands of the French. Nothing is known of the method of his capture, although it was during the siege of a little town which was probably Rethel. The journey to France was worth while if it did nothing more than fill the poet's mind with the pictures of the knights in chain-mail protected by the artfully jointed plate-armour. With the armourers, the camp-followers, the drivers of the great four-horse wagons that carried the supplies, Chaucer

became familiar. By this expedition he learned to know many types of the English people for his previous life had given him no opportunity to know them intimately. Chaucer's knowledge and sympathies were thus broadened. His poems were written for a noble audience, but he enters into the life of all his characters and makes one feel the sympathy he has for them. After his release from captivity, he made his way back to London. Although his business life covered about forty years, his writings never seemed to interfere with it. While in England he did work of the most painstaking kind, for he was a clerk; and, when he was sent abroad, he gave his services in the most important matters to the king. Chaucer had for his companions men of high position.

The first item in the accounts which names Chaucer concerns the granting to him of a life pension, or an allowance of twenty marks a year. He is called in the grant *dilectus valetus noster*, or *our trusty follower*. His importance in the royal household can be seen from the amount of salary he received. He is supposed to have received an income of five thousand dollars a year, if one allows for the greater buying power of money in those days. That was not a poor salary at that time for a man of about twenty-seven years of age. Chaucer remained, nearly all the time, officially attached to the king's court. He was a valet in 1367 but became a "squire of less degree" in 1368. Four years later he is entitled *regis scutifer*, or *king's shield bearer*. In 1369 there is a record of a payment of ten pounds made to Chaucer while he was in the war in France and in April, 1370, his pension was not drawn by him in person but by another. That was probably because Chaucer was abroad for a while upon a second military expedition. There is nothing known about his experiences with the English army, and it is doubtful whether he took any part in the campaign commanded by the "Black Prince."

Between 1370 and 1380 he went abroad six or seven times on the king's services. One time has been noted in 1370 ;



two years later Chaucer went to Genoa and to Florence, and was absent nearly a year. On this journey it is possible that he saw the Italian poet, Petrarch. In 1377 Chaucer made two other journies : he was sent to France to arrange a formal marriage between Richard, heir to the English Crown, and Princess Isabel of France, then a little child ; and he was again sent to France in 1378, and a mission to Lombardy was on his list. This indicates that Chaucer was trustworthy in matters of greatest importance, and that he was a man of affairs.

The greater part of his life was spent in London and the duties performed by him while a resident there were at first in connection with the customs of the port of London. On June 8, 1374 he was appointed " controller of the customs and subsidy of wools, skins and tanned hides " in that port, and he was required to do the work in person and to keep the records in his own handwriting. In his poems, Chaucer reproaches himself for burying himself among his books as soon as his day's work is done.

" For whan thy labor done all is,  
And hast y-made thy reckonings,  
Insted of rest and newe things,  
Thou goest home to thine house anon,  
And, all so dumb as any stoon,  
Thou sittest at another book  
Till fully dazed is thy look,  
And livest thus as an hermyte  
Although thine abstinence is lyte."

Throughout Chaucer's works there are references to events and personages of the siege of Troy, and there are some notes of the exploits of Alexander the Great, of Charlemagne, and of Arthur and his knights. In the middle ages, however, these subjects were popular. It is evident that Chaucer was well-read in the literature of his time, but, as well as he liked literature, he was familiar with the science of his period. Besides his treatise on

the Astrolabe, which he illustrated with drawings for the benefit of his little son, he also shows a knowledge of astronomy and astrology, introduces an alchemist into the *Canterbury Tales*, and, here and there, in his poem, he shows by a shrewd remark that he was an interested listener to the theories of men of science. In one place, he speaks of the earth as "This wide world which that men say is round;" and though he puts the words into the mouth of the Franklin, they are spoken not as questionable but as a matter of course; and this was more than one hundred years before the days of Columbus! Like Shakespeare, Chaucer viewed with interest everything that came before him.

At the time Edward and his son were fighting, Chaucer was bringing to England a treasure destined to be immortal. He brought from France and from Italy the seed of a great literature. He read, appreciated, and learned to value the poems of the great Italian writers; and from them, he taught himself to know good poetry, and to write good poetry in England. Chaucer was sympathetic, and had an understanding of all the men and women who, in their various ways, found their lives worth while. Although he loved books, he was no bookworm, and did not close his eyes to the world about him. If he praised virtue, he sympathized also with the less pious. In learning the skill of the Italians, he did not forget the kindness of the French, and, to both, he added a quality that either was or has become distinctly English the quality of simplicity. Chaucer's attitude toward the men of his time, in so far as it is revealed by his poems, is that of an observer rather than an imitator. There is never any bitterness or resentment in his writings. He never tried to moralize or to be a reformer, for he was too busy living.

There is no doubt at all that Chaucer was well educated, for, in manhood, he shows a knowledge of all the learning of his time: Latin, French, the sciences, and literature—and this is in spite of his passing a busy life in court and in the city.

SOME EVIDENCE FOR AND AGAINST THE POSSIBILITY OF  
CHAUCER'S HAVING MET PETRARCH DURING HIS FIRST  
JOURNEY TO ITALY, 1372-1373.

Did Chaucer make the personal acquaintance on his first Italian journey (1372-1373), of Petrarch? Chaucer's own words in the prologue of the *Clerk of Oxford's Tale* seem to testify to the personal meeting with Petrarch.

“ ‘ Fraunceys Petrak, the lauriate poete,  
Highte this clerk whos rethorike sweete  
Enlumyned al Ytaille of poetrie,—  
As Lynyan dide of philosophie,  
Or lawe, or oother art particuler,—  
But deeth, that wol nat suffre us dwellen heer,  
But as it were a twynklyng of an eye,  
Hem bothe hath slayn and allo shul we dye  
But forth to tellen of this worthy man  
That taughte me this tale, as I bigan,  
I seye that first with heigh stile he enditeth,  
Er he the body of his tale writeth,  
A prohomye, in the which discryveth he  
Pemond, and of Saluces the contree;  
And speketh of Apennyn, the hilles hye  
That been the boundes of West Lumbardy,  
And of Mount Vesulus in special,  
Where as the Poo out of a welle smal  
Taketh his firste spryngyng and his sours,  
That estward ay encresseth in his cours  
To Emeleward, to Ferrare and Venyse,—  
The which a longe thyng were to devyse,  
And trewely, as to my juggement,  
Me thynketh it a thyng impertinent,  
Save that he wole convoyen his mateere;  
But this is his tale which that ye may heere.’ ”

A great many biographers have assumed that it is not only the fictitious *Clerk* but the real poet who confesses to have

learned the story of *Griselda* directly from Petrarch. It is true that the *Clerk of Oxford* is made to say that he learned from the worthy *Franceys Petrak* the tale at Padua; and one might think that Chaucer himself heard the story from the lips of Petrarch. M. Jusserand has pointed out that the English poet's fame was already great enough in France to give him a ready passport to a man so greatly interested in every form of literature and with such close connections as Petrarch. The meeting of Chaucer and Petrarch has been doubted partly on the ground that whereas the *Clerk* learned the tale from Petrarch "at Padua," the aged poet was, in fact, during Chaucer's Italian journey at Arquà, a village sixteen miles off in the Euganean hills. Again, it had been proved that the ravages of war had driven Petrarch down from his village into the fortified town of Padua, where he lived in security during a greater part of that year, so that this very indication of Padua, which does, in fact, show that he possessed such accurate and unexpected information of Petrarch's whereabouts as might, of itself, have suggested a suspicion of personal intercourse.<sup>1</sup>

It is possible that Chaucer and Boccaccio, who were near each other during 1372-1373, were yet fated to remain strangers to each other and this lends all the more force to the fact that Chaucer knew Petrarch to have spent the year at Padua, and not at his own home. Did Chaucer meet Petrarch prior to 1372-1373? In 1368 Lionel of Clarence was married for the second time to Violente Visconti of Milan. Petrarch was an honored guest at that wedding and Speght, writing in 1598, quotes a report that Chaucer was there, too, in attendance on his old master. This, however, was taken as disproved by the more recent assertion of Nicholas that Chaucer drew his pension in England "with his own hand" during all this time. Mr.

<sup>1</sup> See the *Athenaeum*, Sept. 17th to Nov. 26th, 1898 (Mr. C. H. Bromey and Mr. St Clair Baddeley) and Mr. F. J. Mather's two articles in *Modern Language Notes* (Vol. XI, p 210 and Vol. XII, p. 1).

Bromey's researches, however, have reopened the possibility of the old tradition. He ascertained, by a fresh examination of the original Issue Rolls, that the pension was surely paid to Chaucer on May, 35, while the wedding party was on its way to Milan, but the words "into his own hands" are omitted from this particular entry. The omission may be merely accidental, but, at least, it destroys the alleged disproof, and permits one to take Speght's assertion at its intrinsic worth. It may be that Chaucer's own silence on the subject has a sufficient cause, the reason which he himself put into the Knight's mouth in protest against the *Monk's* fondness for tragedies.....

" For little heaviness

Is right enough to many folk, I guess.

I say for me it is a great disease,

Whereas men have been in great wealth and ease,

To hearken of their sudden fall, alas!"

It is possible to hope that Chaucer not only met Petrarch in 1372-1373, but even earlier at the splendid wedding feast of Milan.

In the *Canterbury Tales* the *Host* calls upon the *Clerk of Oxenford*:

" Ye ride as still and coy as doth a maid

Were newly spoused, sitting at the board;

This day he heard I of your tongue a word

For Goddes sake, as be of better cheer!

It no time for to study here."

The *Clerk* thus rudely shaken from his meditations tells the story of *Patient Griselda*, which he had "learned at Padua, of a worthy clerk—F. Petrark, the laureate poet."

Professor Lounsbury, after calling attention to the fact that the *Canterbury Tales* is a dramatic composition and that it is the *Clerk of Oxenford* and not Chaucer who says he learned the tale from Petrarch at Padua, sums up with the sentence: "We can creditably and honestly try hard to think that the two poets

met; but with the knowledge that we at present possess, we have no right to assert it." <sup>1</sup>

From Mr. F. J. Mather's careful investigation of the chronology of Chaucer's Italian journey one has still more light on the subject. For Petrarch's translation of the *Griselda* any date in the early months of 1373 is possible; any date earlier than April is improbable. The mission of which Chaucer was a member was sent primarily to attend to certain business in Genoa. If he left England on December first, 1372, he could not have reached Genoa much before February first, 1373.<sup>2</sup>

When Chaucer reached Genoa he was separated from the rest of the members of the mission and was sent on special business to France. If he did not stop in Genoa, he may have been in Florence about February tenth. By March twenty-third, he was most likely back in Genoa. His possible stay in Florence was probably only a few weeks but diplomatic business usually takes longer than that. Then again, a journey from Florence to Padua was not very easily accomplished, for a long and tedious ride over mountains would have been necessary. If Chaucer did make this trip, he could not have been in Padua later than March fifteenth, a date too early for the possible composition of Petrarch's later version.

It might be well to consider Jusserand's arguments.

LOUISE A. NELSON

<sup>1</sup> *Studies in Chaucer*, Vol. I, p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> Root says that an allowance of two months for the journey to Genoa is probably excessive and that on his second Italian journey of 1378 Chaucer was absent from England less than four months. The second journey, though, was made during the Summer when travelling was easier.

## THE PLAINT OF YASODHARA

My lord, why hast thou deemed it well  
That thou shouldst fare a wanderer  
From thine ancestral halls, afar,  
To be of Truth the discoverer.

Was Yasodhara so unfair?  
Unpleasing to thine eyes divine?  
Or was I ever cold to thee,  
Or failed to make me wholly thine?

Forgive, my lord, and come to me,  
The mother of thine infant son :  
The dancers shall dance for thy joy,  
For jealousy is from me gone !

On bed of roses thou shalt lie,  
Drenched with glamour's exquisite fire :  
Forget the world and its vast pain,  
And know again my lips' desire.

My lord, what if age doth approach,  
If one has lived in youth full well ?  
An everlasting youth would pall,  
And life be but an empty shell.

In youth 'tis sweet to drink of love,  
Enwrapt in flame of passion's fire ;  
And then to slumber, drugged by love  
While far-off twangs a dreamy lyre.

I'll deck myself with flaming gems,  
And dance in love's sweet imagery,  
Till thou respond to passion's call  
That throbs in my throat silvery.

Rahula sleeps on jasmine buds :  
Hast thou no pity, then, for him?  
If not thy wife, surely thy son  
Can call thee from the great world grim.

My lord, ah ! my dear lord, return,  
And lie on Yasodhara's breast.  
In naught else I thee will gainsay,  
If thou wilt make me truly blest.

For none can pierce the mystery  
That shrouds the chances of our birth.  
So, why then waste those precious hours  
Given us for loving while on earth?

I loved thee well, my lord and king,  
Was my kiss but a moment's dream?  
I had not thought thee, sweet, so cold  
That night we watched the pale stars gleam.

The moon was rising in the east :  
The dancers swayed,—a galaxy  
Of pulchritude— but thy dear eyes  
Gazed not on their love-pageantry.

They rained on us the lotus flowers,  
And roses from Kashmiri's dale :  
The air was perfumed with rare scents :—  
I trembled 'neath my gauzy veil.



For love that night was in thy eyes—  
A flaming love for me alone,  
So, lingeringly, the dancers went  
And left us on thy rose-strewn throne.

Ah! love, hast thou forgot so soon  
My eyes keep closing wearily,  
Yet sleep ne'er comes, unless I lie  
With my lord's arms encircling me?

Ah, woe! ah, woe! my lord is gone,  
And Yasodhara is afraid,  
Lest he return no more to hear  
With her sweet Bulbul's serenade.

MARION ISABEL ANGUS

## LAUGHTER

The subject of laughter is very fascinating. Almost all philosophers, from Aristotle to Bergson, have attempted to explain this mysterious quality of nature in some way or other. During this endeavour several theories were evolved but none of them is satisfactory as we shall see later.

To the vast majority of intelligent persons to-day, laughter spells Bergson. Most of them think that he has explained the problem once and for all. I shall give sufficient time to an unprejudiced investigation of his theory on this subject, partly in order to disperse false convictions and partly as an introduction to what I have to say later.

Bergson is more widely read than any other philosopher. And that is why I wish to draw your attention, first of all, towards what he has said concerning this subject. It is not for the scientific truth of his argument, that every one accepts him to be the philosopher of laughter. It is undoubtedly on account of his rich imaginative power, poetic genius, and glowing language (qualities that are indeed rare among philosophers) that his philosophy has so wide an appeal.

Throughout the whole of his essay, you will find passages so thrilling and arguments so arranged that a reader has to reach to an apparently infallible conclusion. He has woven his facts into a completely water-tight hypothesis and in a beautifully contrived plan. It has the charm to convince you even against your will, and it is this compactness that makes his theory seem so sublime and obviously correct.

Mr. J. A. Gunn says in his 'Bergson and his Philosophy,'—  
 "For the student as yet unpractised in philosophical reflection, Bergson's skill and clarity of statement, his fertility in illustration, his frequent and picturesque use of analogy may be a pitfall. It all sounds so convincing and right, as Bergson puts it, that the critical faculty is put to sleep" (p. xv).

At first everything seems convincing. It is only when one begins to think a little that its insufficiency becomes clear.

Bergson calls his book "Laughter : An Essay on the Meaning of the Comic." In reality it is not about laughter at all. Throughout the whole book he has failed to explain what laughter itself is. It is a fatal omission and can throw doubt upon any theory of laughter, however convincing it may be.

Another point I wish to suggest is that Bergson has fallen into grave psychological errors and his treatment of the subject is unscientific at many places. I will give some examples to support this view.

He says : " The comic.....appeals to the intelligence pure and simple; laughter is incompatible with emotion. Depict some fault, however trifling, in such a way as to arouse sympathy, fear, or pity ; the mischief is done, it is impossible for us to laugh.....It must not arouse our feelings." (Laughter, 1911, p. 139.)

He divides the mind into two distinct sections—Intelligence, and Feeling; and on this assumption feels himself justified in saying : " calling into play their intelligence alone."

Three comments immediately suggest themselves :—

- (1) The division of mind into two sections : Intelligence and Feeling,
- (2) Non-existence of feeling when one laughs,
- (3) Laughter as an effect of intelligence.

We shall discuss each of them successively.

(1) There are a good many people, besides myself, who will strenuously oppose this theory. Mind is a whole. Intelligence is a faculty of mind that has evolved, and feeling is its emotional state. Such a sharp division of mind into Intelligence (a faculty of mind), and Feeling (a state of mind) is contrary not only to scientific psychology but even to common sense. It will appear apparently untrue to anybody who gives a moment's thought to this point.

(2) Feeling is ever present in every mental situation. I would not be doing any work, unless doing so gave me a feeling of pleasure or comfort. Almost all conscious activities, whether intellectual or physical, have their basis of feelings in the minds of those who perform them. It does not require much skill in introspection to realise this.

Feeling is defined as : " The agreeable or disagreeable side of any mental state "; emotion being " An excitement of the feelings, whether pleasant or unpleasant." Feeling is a simple emotional state; and Emotion is a complex state of Feeling. The difference is a matter of degree and not of kind.

Too many persons have fallen into the habit of undervaluing Emotion. They seem to give it a subordinate place in the trinity of mind, and to exalt above it the co-ordinated elements of thinking and willing. But it must be borne in mind that Emotion lies much closer to the heart—the spring of human action—than any other mental faculty, quality, or phase. Those persons, who give predominance to the Intellect, thinking that it plays a fundamentally important part in human efforts, err and totally ignore the virtues of Emotion.

Man has a heart as well as a head. In reality, the heart plays a greater part than does the head in human actions. Remove Emotion from human life and you will have stolen away the source not only of its greatest beauties but also of all manifestations and expressions. Human-beings will be left not unlike the inanimate objects of our day, were they to be devoid of emotions.

Bergson says : Laughter is devoid of feeling (*L'insensibilite qui accompagne d'ordinaire le rire*). The translator renders " *L'insensibilite*," as " absence of feeling." He, therefore, means that no feeling or emotion exists in the mind when one laughs. But it is absolutely opposed to common experience.

It is a fact that comic laughter cannot exist in the presence of any degree of emotion except that of amusement. But it would be quite absurd to deduce from this that laughter does not exist with any emotion whatever.

Laughter is often uncontrollable. On several occasions we have experienced that we are as unable to control it as a nervous coward is unable to refrain from flight.

An animal is emotionally moved. Owing to its immersion in the present, the emotion is always immediately translated into action. To feel an emotion is to do something. But with man that is not the case always. Because of his detachment from the present, his mind may be emotionally disturbed, and still no outlet of the co-ordinated physical activity may be available. Emotion may be aroused, and yet because of his detachment, there may be nothing that he desires to do, so that it bubbles up in laughter.

Laughter is an effervescing of an emotion. It is always the result of an emotion which has nothing to do. Instead of being repressed or producing any other states, *viz.*, hate, anger, etc., it lifts an emotional safety valve, causing the pressure to be lowered and the noise which is produced by the chattering of the valve, is called laughter.

Bergson says that when pity is aroused the person is unable to laugh. He deduces from this that laughter is not emotional. But it is quite erroneous to reach to this conclusion from the said example. Fear kills pity more effectively than laughter. Does this mean then that pity is not emotional? Emotion is a mental state. There cannot be two different states of the same mind at the same time. One state naturally dies out before another is manifested. This does not imply that the first was not emotional. We have no reason to believe like that.

(3) Mind has two different spheres—Instinct and Intelligence. Instinct is unlike intelligence and need not learn from experience. Intelligence implies experience and needs a previous acquaintance to work upon. For example, a baby sucks as soon as he comes into this world, but to speak and express his views he requires training. The former act is instinctive, and the latter is intellectual.

Bergson states that we laugh with our intelligence. The insufficiency of this axiom can immediately be seen were some one

to devote even 5 minutes to deliberate on the point. Although it does not appear till some time after birth, yet it has, doubtless, all the earmarks of an instinctive reaction. It is not unlike crying and sucking. The baby laughs without any training or previous experience. It is clear, therefore, that Bergson's conception, that laughter comes from the intelligence is scientifically un-psychological and does not result from empirical observation.

Considering the question as to why is the Negro comic, M. Bergson says :—

“ There is a logic of the imagination which is not the logic of reason,” and “ It is something like the logic of dreams,.....” (p. 41).

‘ Logic of imagination,’ ‘ logic of reason,’ and ‘ logic of dreams ’ are bad uses. Logic is a word which has a precise meaning. It is erroneous to use it at our convenience. Process is a more appropriate word that could be used here.

I have spent a little time to show that Bergson has committed several psychological errors in treating the subject of laughter. Now I do not wish to overweight these pages with any unnecessary description of this sort. Instead I would endeavour to write a short criticism on the theories of laughter as propounded by him and others, which I hope, will be of some interest to the readers.

M. Bergson says :—“ It is not his sudden change of attitude that raises a laugh, but rather the involuntary element in this change—his clumsiness, in fact. Perhaps there was a stone on the road. He should have altered his pace or avoided the obstacle. Instead of that, through lack of elasticity, through absent-mindedness and a kind of physical obstinacy, as a result in fact of rigidity or of momentum, the muscles continued to perform the same movement when the circumstances of the case called for something else. That is the reason of the man's fall, and also of the people's laughter.” (P. 9.)

He means by this example that it is the absent-mindedness and clumsiness that is comic. This is a strange and posing thing, of course ! To my mind there would be more laughter if a man

suddenly sat down in the way--that is voluntariness--than if he just happened to stumble and fall.

There is another point which demands an equal consideration. It is not the clumsiness alone that causes laughter, but clumsiness plus the abasement; the latter is a most essential factor, which he has ignored.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the infringement of one's will adds to one's own inferiority. When the observer sees the passer-by trip and fall; his feeling of superiority is greatly enhanced. This enhancement creates a feeling of pleasure, which is the fundamental cause of laughter. And that is why the clumsiness, however mechanical it may be, if it fails to create a feeling of superiority by infringing one's will, would never cause laughter.

"We laugh every time a person gives us the impression of being a thing." (P. 58.)

In order to support this theory Bergson instances Sancho Panza tossed in the air like a foot-ball. I do not know how he has concluded this from that example. We do not laugh at all at things that are inanimate. The rocks, the plants, and all other things devoid of life never betray any laughable element. They neither do anything ridiculous, nor exhibit a perception of anything absurd done in their presence. We, doubtless, laugh at Sancho's waving arms and legs, not because he gives us the impression of being a thing, but his tossing creates the feeling of superiority and pleasure in the observer. The comicalness lies in the insult to Sancho's dignity.

### *Incongruity.*

One of the oldest theories of laughter is that of incongruity. Deformities of any sort, two-headed or six-fingered men, spilling ink, falling down (specially of respected persons) these are all examples of incongruities. They are said to be the cause of laughter. At first, this appears to be promising. But any one who devotes a few minutes to deliberate on the subject will find the invalidity of the theory.

There are two points to which I wish to draw your attention : (1) Many incongruous things are not comic, and (2) some things are comic that do not fall under the head of incongruity. Spencer, in his essay, has illustrated several examples of incongruities that are not comic. Had incongruous things been the cause of the comic, they would invariably and infallibly produce laughter in all men and at all times. But empirical observations do not agree with this. Instead they prove that incongruous things often arouse many feelings—such as hate, disgust, anger, irritation and at times pain—that have no concern with laughter, whatsoever.

Aristotle's definition of the ridiculous is, " what is out of time and place, but without danger." If there be pain and danger, he calls them tragic and not comic. Emerson, in his essay ' The Comic ' has accepted this definition; but to my mind it is very poor. Because it does not tell all we know about laughter.

Contrast, artificiality, surprise, unexpectedness, a descent from the large to the small, a form of sex, interruption, rigidity, absent-mindedness, error, infringement of freedom, weakness, failure, imitation, stupidity, monotony, lack of harmony, automatism, inelasticity, stiffness, artificiality, etc., are some of the more recent suggestions. A theory of the comic must cover every funny fact. But a little impartial study will convince the readers that not even one of them is altogether satisfactory.

It is very difficult to draw a line between what is comic and what is not, not even with the same man. The comic is what we think comic. Every man has his own ideas of what should and what should not be so. I think something absurd and ridiculous while you consider the same thing to be quite sane and reasonable. It is not unlike even with the same man. For what one finds funny at one time he may not consider so at another, although the condition remains the same. For instance, a hole in the trousers (other than your own) is funny. The bigger the hole and the more respectable the man, the greater will be the laughter. But if it were to be in the trousers of some one very closely asso-



ciated with you by reason of love, then it would not appear to be comic. Nay, it would arouse in you a feeling of anger and resentment against those who laugh.

In postulating the same idea I instance to you another example. A young boy had a pet dog which he loved very much. It died, and as a token of special favour it was kept stuffed in glass case. Once upon a time, his grandmother came to see him. He lovingly took her to the case. She looked at it for some time and then admired it. The boy exclaimed amazingly well and said :—  
 “ Mother, when you die you will also be stuffed and kept in a case like Moti (his late pet dog).” Obviously enough the boy and the spectators laughed, but the old lady was very much enraged. Whatever may be the ultimate cause of laughter, it can decidedly be ascertained from this example that the comic entirely depends upon the man who laughs and not upon the object.

I could multiply examples almost indefinitely but it is not necessary. The elemental idea of all these illustrations is that the idea of comic differs from man to man. It does not require much effort of imagination to realise this.

One would very easily reject these theories were some one to propound any other theory that would cover all the facts and act as a clear and sufficient explanation. I have already called your attention to various theories that have been propounded from time to time. Now I will put forth my own theory and attempt to show its validity.

Any living thing is comic provided—

- (a) It is pleasing ;
- (b) It does not arouse any specific interest or emotion ;
- (c) It creates a feeling of superiority in the observer ;
- (d) It is different from that person's beliefs and experience.

Let us discuss each of them in order :—

- (a) Inanimate objects never arouse any mirth, we should remember. It is only animate objects that are laughed at.

Things have the same properties for all of us. It is in their meanings that the difference lies. For instance, the feeling that I have for a dear friend of mine, is entirely different from the feeling of that person who has been very badly insulted by him. That is, the same person arouses a feeling of love in one and the feeling of anger in another. An honest man seeing a policeman, has a feeling quite different from that of a thief. It proves, therefore, that the meaning of a thing varies, very considerably, in different persons: the same thing can be ugly disgusting, painful, irritative, annoying, embarrassing, or funny to different persons. It is this familiar fact that has led me to say that the comic element does not depend entirely in the thing itself but in the meaning interpreted by the man who laughs.

We laugh always at things that are pleasing. Displeasing things are never laughed at. It is a fundamental element without which nothing can be ludicrous.

(b) Another important point is that it should not arouse any specific interest or feeling. Comic laughter can only exist in a comfortably pleasant state of mind unoccupied by deep interest or emotion. It will not occur at all if the object arouses any kind of active interest or emotion, either unpleasant or thrilling. We laugh at it as long as it does not arouse any degree of emotion (other than that of laughter). But as soon as it begins to influence us in the way which we cannot bear, we are emotionally disturbed and the laughable element is suddenly lost.

(c) The third element is that of the feeling of superiority. Unless and until the observer feels himself superior to the man at whom he laughs, he will not laugh. I laugh at a monkey, a boy, a friend; but not at a king, or at those persons whom I think superior to me. Sufficient has already been said in this connection, and I do not think it necessary to discuss it any more. If the readers try to remember what they have read in the previous pages they will find no difficulty in understanding this principle.

(d) The fourth element for a thing to be comic is that it must be different from that person's beliefs and experience. It

is an admitted fact of psychology that the exuberance of experience of anything decreases its power to stimulate the mind. The more experience a mind gains the less power it has to respond. We all know that when we are sitting in our study, we are often found indulging in frivolous attempts and mental reverie and the articles of the room fail to draw our attention to them, for they have been experienced several times. Persons living elsewhere find Bombay and Calcutta much more interesting and pleasing than the inhabitants of these very places. We may feel a touch of any insect sitting on our body, but the presence of the coat, the shirt, and the trousers is not felt always. The principle is so simple and commonly known that it would be an insult to the readers' intelligence to multiply examples of such kind.

The theory that is suggested above, contains all the essentials and a little study of it will reveal to the readers the validity of the theory.

One more suggestion and I am through. The theory which purports to tell all about laughter, cannot be stretched to cover the tickle laugh, and the baby's laugh in general. Why should the child laugh when tickled, is a poser. Our theory does not satisfactorily answer this. But it is evident that tickling is also a stimulus (in terms of stimulus-response psychology) to laughter. This is a physiological question and as such we have not touched it here. Only psychological elements are considered, for the subject is too difficult to be reduced to one single theory. Physiological stimuli will be considered on some future occasion.

UDAI BHANU

## HISTORY OF TAXATION OF SALT UNDER THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

### BOMBAY.

We shall now leave Madras to see what was happening on the opposite coast of the Deccan. Everybody knows that the Mahrattas remained the dominant power of Western India till the end of the 18th century and for long the British possessions there were confined to narrow limits so that the Bombay Presidency, during the period under question, was yet in an inchoate state. The circumstance acted as a great hindrance to the accomplishment of important arrangements for improvement of administration and resources of revenue in the province. The final overthrow of the Marhattas came in 1818 and two years before that the Government had just started an enquiry to ascertain if salt could be turned into a profitable source of revenue in the Presidency. But many were the years that elapsed before any definite result was achieved.

The Government, however, derived some revenue from salt even during these early years of its rule, though it was insignificant. The salt revenue, which was but one among many small miscellaneous items, was a hotchpotch of diverse kinds of receipts. In fact, "the whole subject of Bombay salt revenue" during these early years was a "mass of confusion."<sup>1</sup>

But before we proceed to it, we shall do well to give here a brief account of the salt supply of the province in order that we may follow the *immediate subject of our study* more clearly. Along the whole of her long seaboard, almost in every district, the

<sup>1</sup> T. L. Peacock, Asstt. Examiner of Indian Correspondence, before the Select Committee on Salt, 1836. Q. 770. Wrote the Court of Directors in their despatch of 10th June, 1829: "The mode of raising the revenue from salt at your Presidency has hitherto been very complicated differing greatly in different places."

manufacture of sea-salt was carried on in Bombay by the process of evaporation. Salt was also manufactured in the interior on the eastern boundary of the salt desert, known as the little Runn of Cutch, but its proportion was even less than a tenth of the total home supply. Besides, a negligibly small amount was produced by lixiviation of saline earth in a few villages. The consumption of this last class of salt was strictly confined to the lower order of people. The supply, on the whole, was so abundant that not only was it sufficient for internal needs but a large amount of the surplus was regularly exported to other parts of India and even beyond it. No doubt Bombay also received imports of foreign salt by sea from the Persian and Arabian Gulfs and by land from the surrounding native states and foreign possessions ; but the quantity thus obtained had always been very small.

The owners of salt works fell into three broad classes, (1) State, (2) Private individuals subject to the original proprietary claim of state as overlord, (3) Holders of free land, the Government's claims on which had been either foregone or alienated. The Government however was the principal manufacturer so that, as James Mill said, monopoly in a certain sense of the word might be said to have existed. The total revenue consisted of the following items :

(1) Income from Government-owned salt works under heads of profits from works managed by the Government themselves and of rent from those farmed out to individuals. In certain places the Government reserved for its own salt the right to priority of sale and was thus in a position to command a price somewhat higher than the competitive.

(2) Land revenue assessed on the salt pans in some places and quit rent realized from others.

(3) Duty levied in kind or in money on the produce of some private salt works.

(4) Customs on import and export by sea.

(5) Duty on the inland transit of the article.

On analysis of the above heads, we may, on the whole, say that the tax was partly transit duty, partly excise and partly monopoly gains from Government salt works.<sup>1</sup> For, it is not certain whether the receipt on account of rent was more of the nature of a deduction from surplus than of an exaction, and so far as the export duty was concerned, its incidence was, in all probability, on the foreign consumers. The import, too, was not appreciable enough to make the duty on it worth consideration.

It should further be noted that the freedom of the Government to obtain monopoly profits must have been from the nature of the case limited, and the excise duty, far from being general, was "of too trifling a nature"<sup>2</sup> even where it was levied. The transit duty was then the general form of salt tax so that inhabitants in the neighbourhood of pans consumed in most cases untaxed salt. It was chiefly in the interior that people had to bear the double burden of a tax and especially heavy costs of land transport in those days of miserable communication. The incidence of the transit tax showed wide disparities from locality to locality since the rates, to which the commodity was subjected, were not determined on any uniform and definite principle. It was not unoften in those days that a commodity in transit was subjected to duty more than once. It was calculated on a subsequent occasion that the duty on salt levied in various shapes came to about 3 as. 4 ps. per maund.<sup>3</sup>

It is not possible to estimate with any degree of certitude the total salt revenue of the Presidency during this early period. The figures that are available merely add to our confusion by their irreconcilably conflicting statements. In an Appendix to the First Report of Select Committee of the House of Commons

<sup>1</sup> See Pedder's evidence before Select Committee on Finance, Q. 4142.

<sup>2</sup> Bombay Government's despatch to the Court of Directors, dated 18th June, 1823.

<sup>3</sup> Final minute (6th May, 1826) of Mr. Bruce, a member of the Bombay Customs Committee, 1825, who fully investigated the subject of salt tax in the Presidency.

on Indian territories of the session of 1853, the total gross and net revenues are stated to have been Rs. 2,35,242 and Rs. 2,08,532 respectively. But the Salt Commissioner of 1856 was inclined to believe, from a consideration of various documents, that the figures represented only the proceeds of the import at private salt works or of what was then called the excise on salt. It seems that the transit duties, on an average, accounted for another two lacs of rupees.

### III

*From 1818 to 1836.*

In 1813 the Company's Charter was renewed for a further period of twenty years. By the terms of the Charter the Company was deprived of its monopoly in Indian Commerce. The Industrial revolution was now in its full swing in England and the new class of industrial and commercial magnates that had grown up in the country were naturally very eager to have the benefit of the Indian market, which promised to absorb unlimited quantities of goods. The agitation had no doubt begun long ago and a strenuous but fruitless effort was made to secure this freedom of trade even at the time of the renewal of the Charter in 1793. But in 1813 a special concurrence of circumstances—the continental system of Napoleon which had shut England out from the European markets and the stress of the greatest of its wars that peculiarly demanded for the country “every possible facility for the exertion of its commercial spirit and the employment of its commercial capital”<sup>1</sup> were forces strong enough to sweep away all the arguments of the Company to the contrary.

The East Indian Company was reduced in its Indian commerce to the position of only one among several competitors

<sup>1</sup> Papers relating to East India Company's Charter, Letter to the Rt. Hon'ble Dundas, 18th Jan., 1806.

subjected to the payment of like duties and customs as the private traders. It now occupied itself in revising its existing customs regulations in order to equalise the public burdens and give every possible facility to the trade of India. But the completion of the necessary revolutions had to wait till the conclusion of the war and all the arrangements consequent upon the treaties of peace had been completed.<sup>1</sup>

In the interest of their respective monopolies both the Governments at Bengal and Madras had pursued the policy of closed doors against importation of salt from other lands. No doubt Bengal had from after 1795 partially removed the embargo on import from Madras and in extraordinary years of flood when the domestic supply fell short of the need it had drawn upon other foreign sources such as Ceylon, regions bordering on the Persian Gulf and Red Sea, etc. But such import was for the service of the monopoly itself and its quantity depended upon the pleasure of the Government varying according to the success or failure of the home manufacture. Now that it was open to foreign merchants to export salt on private account into India, the authorities had naturally to fall back upon their powers to levy duties to safeguard their own monopoly revenues.

On the 10th May, 1816 the Select Committee of the Court of Directors addressed a letter to the Governor-General in Council asking the latter to prepare and transmit home without the least delay "a regulation imposing such a rate of duty on the importation of all foreign salt as shall have the effect of securing the revenue derived from that article."<sup>2</sup> Accordingly in 1817 the Bengal Government with the approval of the home authorities imposed a countervailing customs duty of Rs. 3

<sup>1</sup> See letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor General in Council, dated 29th July, 1814. Appendix to the Report of the Select Committee, 1831.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from the Select Committee of the Court of Directors to the Governor-General in Council, dated 10th May, 1816, App. No. 17 to the Select Committee, 1831.



(sicca) per maund.<sup>1</sup> But the high duty on salt, be it noted, had to be adopted not from any dread of competition from English salt for its import into India was not yet thought of as a very probable contingency. It was adopted because it was feared that merchants who were permitted by law to touch and trade at Cape Verde Islands in course of their voyage to the East Indies, might throw into Calcutta markets cheaply produced salt brought from there.<sup>2</sup> In Madras the ban remained as before, on salt brought by land and on salt imported by sea was fixed a prohibitory duty of Rs. 350 per garce. Even Bombay contemplated the imposition of a prohibitory duty but the matter was postponed till fuller information could be obtained as to how far such a measure was necessary for the protection of salt revenue.

It was for long an oft-discussed question if it were possible to develop a profitable import trade into Bengal from Great Britain with advantage to both countries. Export of a whole cargo of salt from such a great distance, it is superfluous to say, could not be a paying proposition; it was possible only as ballast. Since the trade between England and India was one of large export of raw materials and other bulky goods from the former and import of manufactured articles from the latter, a large surplus of tonnage was available for the outward voyage so that salt might be taken merely as a dead weight to complete a cargo.

But it was realized that even in such circumstances was it not possible to export salt to Madras and Bombay which had extraordinary facilities for producing salt at trifling costs.<sup>3</sup> It was probable, if at all, only in Bengal where the brine was

<sup>1</sup> Regulation XV of 1817, Regulation XV of 1825, Act XIV of 1836.

In ordinary circumstances the article like all others not expressly enumerated would have been held subject when imparted by sea on a British or Indian built bottom to a custom duty of 2½% or 5% according to origin. British or foreign, and to a duty of 10%, if imported from a foreign country on a foreign bottom.

<sup>2</sup> See letter from Secret Committee of the Court of Directors to the Governor-General in Council, dated the 10th May, 1816, App. No. 17 to the Select Committee, 1881.

<sup>3</sup> See evidence of Sir T. Pycroft before the Committee on Finance 1871-74—his reply to Q. No. 3949.

excessively dilute owing to the enormous quantity of water poured down from the whole of the Gangetic range into the Bay of Bengal and the expenses of production were consequently rather high. So long as the company had the exclusive trade, the Government of Bengal was always reluctant to risk the secure profit of its monopoly having recourse to an untried alternative, especially since there was a strong prejudice of the native population in favour of the country salt which enabled it to command more than the average price in the market.

With the opening of India to free commerce the question naturally came to the fore. The Bengal monopoly became the target of attack from the first. A loud and persistent cry, growing from day to day in volume and intensity, went up from the Chesire manufacturers and Liverpool merchants that the Bengal duty was prohibitively high and had been intentionally kept at that level to eliminate foreign competition altogether. But as recently as 1817 it was they who had urged on the English Committee on salt that sat in that year the necessity of a protective duty in order to safeguard the domestic manufacture. And yet it was till then open to serious doubt if English salt could have been laid down in the Calcutta market with normal profit.<sup>1</sup>

Subsequent events had amply proved the utter hollowness of the above contention. Whatever might have been the intentions of the Company, the duty that was levied actually proved to have been rather a little favourable to the foreign importer. And judging from the gradually increasing importation there could have been very little room for doubt that it was far from being a protecting duty.

Still the English merchants had legitimate grounds of complaint. So long as the Bengal Government was not bound by

<sup>1</sup> At that time serious doubts were entertained by many if salt would prove as a suitable ballast. Some regarded coal as more suitable for the purpose. Salt, it was said, made the ship labour. Vessels carrying general cargo objected to taking salt lest it should have damaged delicate goods. Further, the question of available tonnage was somewhat uncertain.

any definite statutory price, there was always the danger that at any moment it might, with the express object of ruining the importers, use its power to throw a largely increased supply on the market and thus depress the price considerably below its usual level. Again, the sub-monopoly which the system was believed to have fostered was a standing menace to all genuine traders. Thus it was not the import duty but the uncertainty that attached to the Bengal system of monopoly which was the real obstacle in the way of proper development of the English trade with Bengal. In other words, the sting of the monopoly was in its tail.

But in the regular campaign that was started, the ground of attack was never confined to this or any other single point only. It is a stupendous, almost an impossible task to sift the bewildering diversity of arguments—an elaborate tissue of truths, half-truths, exaggerations, absurdities and gross falsehoods—that were marshalled against the monopoly.<sup>1</sup> Commercial jealousy put on the mask of the humanitarian and for the first time paraded an unbounded solicitude for the poor Indian ryots who were forced to live on dear salt.<sup>2</sup>

PARIMAL RAY

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ".....a monopoly of a prime necessary of life to the poor is established in a pestilential climate, carried on by forced labour, where lives are annually lost by disease and the attacks of wild beasts, the sole advantage of which is a large revenue to the Government." Rickards, *India or Fact, etc.*, Vol. I, p. 647.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. "The monopoly is assailed in the House of Commons and at Liverpool, nominally because it is a grinding tax indefensible in theory, vexatious in practice—really, because certain great communities consider that a change in our system of salt management would make the markets of Bengal, wholly dependent for their supply upon the salt of Great Britain." Minute by H. M. Parker, Junior Member of the Board of Customs, Salt and Opium, dated the 2nd November, 1835.

## HOW DID JESUS INTERPRET HIMSELF ?

### IV. *The Galilean Ministry*

" Now after John was delivered up, Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of God, and saying, the time is fulfilled, and the Kingdom of God is at hand; repent ye and believe in the gospel." (*Mk.* 1.14, 15.) According to *Matthew*, Jesus repeats the message of John: ' Repent ye, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.' John had said that the Messiah of the Kingdom of Heaven would baptize in Holy Spirit and in fire, and Jesus may well have had these words in mind as he started to preach. There was hidden in his message, (as we read on) both the joyful power of the Holy Spirit, and the sacrificial play of fire; not only are the poor and meek happy (*Mt.* 5) and the disciples full of power and joy in doing Jesus' work after him (*Lk.* 10.17), but men are also called away from home to a life of rigor (*Mk.* 1.17), and whoever would save his life must lose it (*Mk.* 8.36). In the end, the fiery baptism will test the courage of the children of the Kingdom, and consume the disobedient. (*Lk.* 12.49-59.)

But Jesus knew his mission was different from that of John, and even different from that which John expected the Messiah to accomplish. For Jesus the idea of the Kingdom of God merged with the idea of the Will of God. The New Age of the apocalyptic writers was off in the future, and up in heaven. It would be imposed by physical force, wielded by God and His angels. The time of its arrival could be worked out by obscure calculation. Preaching was secret, and covered over with cryptic symbols. They were tabulators. But the Kingdom of God as Jesus knew it was a creation of his own mind working on the needs of contemporary life and the exalted ideals of God's moral prophets. It was within him—he was its chief exponent. ' I am the state ' said Louis XIV. Italian democracy lived in the ideals of Mazzini

before it was realized among the Italians. The old prophets looked with righteous wrath on the sin of the nation, and preached doom. The apocalyptic writers looked on sin and national helplessness, and advocated what seemed to them the only possible remedy—the evil old world must be magically replaced by a righteous new one. But Jesus looks out on sin and ignorance, and his heart swells with divine pity. With the prophets, he confronts those who cause the wrong; with the apocalyptists, he tells of a new age when wrongs will be righted; but he also feels within him *now* the impelling energy of the God of love which empowers him to rise above present despair, and go forth to preach immediately, 'The Kingdom of God is at hand! It is within you' (*Lk.* 17.21). The peculiar Kingdom of God that Jesus preached took its rise in himself, and from him as a source it spread into the hearts of those who were touched by his message. To Jesus as to Jewish thought, God always reigns potentially—his Sovereignty holds the earth and all therein. It is now to spread in actuality by leaps and bounds in the minds of men. In its completion and fulness, it will coalesce with the ideal Kingdom. The coming of the Kingdom of God is the reverse side of the diffusion of the sovereignty of God.

As the Kingdom was visualized most clearly in the mind of Jesus, so he was its chief source—in a word, its Messiah. But Jesus preached the objective Kingdom, and only incidentally and in veiled hints threw out the impression that he was its source and Messiah, when the nature of the situation led him to make an unpremeditated disclosure. (*Mk.* 2.10, 28 ; *Mt.* 11.4.) Yet Jesus felt himself to be the source of the Kingdom only as the jet is the source of the spray. The real source of the Kingdom was God—Jesus was his Messiah. As such, he must do what God would do—reach out to the people in love; comfort, warn, teach, heal, cast out the powers of Satan, become an active medium whereby God's Spirit would burn through the people, arousing, encouraging and destroying, until his sovereignty was fully established. He himself might be destroyed in the task, when bitter opposition would

oppose the searching light, but God would not fail. Greater works would others do by his power, and the reign of God would spread by multiplication till its consummation would be sealed by the arrival of the Kingdom in power. In less than a year the method and manner of this consummation was conceived by Jesus rather clearly, but at the beginning of his ministry, he probably had vague glimpses into the future, while he applied his powers to the task at hand.

Accordingly, he sets forth to preach, teach and heal. His great aim is to bring God's message, as he feels it in himself, before the people. God's message is always an urgent one to those who sense him keenly. It was imminent, even immanent, to Jesus. The Kingdom is at hand—now or never, is the cry. Repent, turn, enter the Kingdom. Take it by storm. Meet God's requirements. Do you know what is demanded of the sons of the Kingdom? A righteousness surpassing and fulfilling all that has gone before and is practised now. It was because Jesus knew God so well that he could speak with authority on the requirements of the Kingdom.

From the time that he set out to preach in Galilee until his withdrawal to Tyre and Sidon, Jesus does not change his tactics. He preaches, teaches, heals, and feeds in a strenuous campaign to announce the coming of the Kingdom and sow the seed of God's rule that will grow and reproduce till men are ripe for the final consummation. Jesus calls men to follow him in 'fishing for men' (*Mk.* 1.17). His words and actions are new and joyful (*Mk.* 1.27; 2.19, 21). He is conscious of a mission to tour the villages (*Mk.* 1.38). He forgives sins with authority (*Mk.* 2.5). He comes to call sinners to repentance, rather than the righteous (*Mk.* 2.17). The seed he sows will not everywhere take effect, but in good soil, it will yield abundant return (*Mk.* 4.8). His disciples multiply his own work in preaching and casting out 'demons' (*Mk.* 3.15). God uses man to bring in the Kingdom, and soon, through this process of rapid, unseen growth, comes the harvest.

We notice two essential features in this campaign : (1) Jesus is intensely eager to sow the seed of the Kingdom, and (2) he assumes the highest authority. He speaks for God, and he speaks for the Kingdom. Who is it that can speak directly for God and the Kingdom but the Messiah? Can we imagine that, this answer never entered his mind? That he never turned his thoughts inward? Or that when he did, he could not see the Messiah there? The repeated questioning of his authority (*Mk.* 2.10; 2.28; 3.4; 7.5; 8.11), must have forced him to do so. From the beginning of his ministry Jesus felt himself to be the Christ.

Let us look further, and find the *content* of Jesus' conception of the Kingdom and his own Messiahship. As God's Messiah, Jesus was called upon to announce or preach the Kingdom; for not only was it coming, but it had already come in him and he knew it. Why did he regard teaching also as a function of his Messiahship? Since the Kingdom was that of a just and holy God, only those could enter it who obeyed God's will. But Jesus was keenly sensitive to the practically perverted presentation of the will of God, which the leading classes held before the people. They were blind guides leading the blind (*Lk.* 6.39). Hence he felt constrained to do the leading himself. Even the humble and willing could not enter the Kingdom unless they were taught, and led to accept with freedom the true will of God; moreover, they should know the ways of the Kingdom, if they were to be in it. So Jesus becomes teacher, seeking to strip off the meticulous and burdensome traditions (*Mt.* 23.4) and present the law of the Kingdom in all its freedom, depth and scope. He teaches the congregations in their synagogues (*Mt.* 4.23), his band of disciples in private rooms (*Lk.* 6.12.13), and the multitudes in the open air. (*Mk.* 4.1).

1. In the synagogue, his words come with authority, and often meet with opposition. (*Mk.* 1.22; *Lk.* 4.28.) In Luke 4.28, we are told that he proclaims a message of social deliverance, and likens himself to the ideal prophet of *Isaiah* 61. No doubt he

made a practice of taking some great theme and applying it to the contemporary situation.

2. Most of the teaching preserved in the Gospels was spoken to the disciples. As they were to be other selves for Jesus, they should have an adequate understanding of the nature of the Kingdom, and its relation to the life of the age. Nearly all of the maxims of Jesus arose out of the various events in the progress of the work; and as we read we can see the relation. (*Lk.* 9.47.) Only in *Matthew*, 5-8, and to a less degree, in *Luke* 6, does Jesus seem to deliver a long, formal discourse—the famous ‘Sermon on the Mount.’ This is due, it seems, to the author, rather than to Jesus. It is likely that on this occasion, Jesus did little more than tell his disciples what kind of people would be blessed and enter the Kingdom, and what was the deep significance of God’s laws in the Kingdom; in other words, the ‘Beatitudes’ and the ‘Higher Righteousness.’ All the rest of the passages in this collection of *Matthew’s* are either found in a different or more natural context in *Luke*, or can be easily and fittingly attached to some event now bare of verbal clothing. *Matthew’s* ‘Sermon on the Mount’ is clearly literary. Although the multitude is mentioned, yet it is to his disciples that Jesus speaks. (*Mt.* 5.1; *Lk.* 6.20.) Yet the group was probably larger than the Twelve.

As to the Beatitudes, whose account shall we trust, *Luke’s* or *Matthew’s*? This question bears upon our problem, because we want to know whether Jesus believed himself sent to any special class. *Luke* is known for his championship, both in the Gospel and in *Acts*, of the poor against the rich; *Matthew* for his tendency to moralize and reinterpret for the Christian community. But while these different views raise a problem, they solve it. Each elicits a truth. Jesus as well as *Luke* sympathizes with the poor against the rich. (*Mk.* 10.25; *Mt.* 11.5.) And yet Jesus with ‘*Matthew*’ refers not merely to the poor in worldly goods, but also to pious, simple folk who are more or less oppressed, unhappy, and disappointed, the ‘Aniim’ of the *Psalms* and *Isaiah* 61. (*Lk.* 4.18.) The ‘poor in spirit’ includes ‘poor’



but excludes the rich and arrogant oppressors. The rich, as a class, were not 'poor in spirit,' although an individual rich man might be, and so enter the Kingdom of God—'with God all things are possible.' (*Mk.* 10.27.)

Thus Jesus' mission, as he conceived it, was directed *mainly* to a special class, to all those who were held in bondage by economic and 'religious' oppression to those who need help and whose spirit is poor and humble because the need of God's help is felt, to the exploited, the outcasts, the 'sinners,' the childlike, the repentant (*Mk.* 2.17; *Lk.* 6.20; 4.18). It is a spiritual rather than an economic distinction, yet the humble are generally in poverty, and the proud in luxury.

In the discourse of the 'Higher Righteousness,' Jesus says that he comes to fulfil the law. What, then, was Jesus' attitude towards the Jewish law? Was his mission to destroy it or complete it? Undoubtedly he meant to fulfil it. He says so. (*Mt.* 5.17.) Moreover, not once during his ministry, does he condemn the Scripture or the law. For he regards the law as essentially spiritual: it is the *intent* that is in the mind of God. Therefore, Jesus can freely interpret one part of Scripture by another, in an unprecedented way, because he feels he knows the mind of God. The teachings of Jesus simply carry out the intention of the law to its ultimate reach, and so fulfil the law.

But practically, since the law was considered a fixed thing, and was used literally, such an attitude destroyed it. However this may be, Jesus taught the new (*Mk.* 2.22), but regarded it as fulfilling the old. The coming of the Kingdom of God with its supreme and searching law was something completely new under the sun, yet it was the fulfilment of the hopes of the pious.

In his several declaration here, and in his other teaching, Jesus takes the old law and applies it to the motive rather than the act (*Mt.* 5.22). He also extends its scope to include the stranger and the enemy (*Mt.* 5.44; *Lk.* 10.30). Furthermore he preaches non-resistance to oppressors (*Mt.* 5.39), stresses salvation through service and sacrifice (*Mk.* 6.31), and champions the oppressed

classes (*Mk.* 6.20). Whether these ideas can be found in Judaism before him is a barren question for our subject. It is emphasis that counts. Jesus concentrated upon the few great necessary principles of life, and rather ignored the rest. Ceremony was incidental. (*Mk.* 7.2a.) He stressed the 'permanently relevant.' His divergence from popular practice is an index of his originality. Two factors are necessary to determine a man's conception of his mission: what he says, and what he does. And Jesus practised the principles he preached. So we know that he conceived his mission as God's Messiah on earth to seek the lost in service and sacrifice, to love enemies and not resist them. This is a clue for interpreting his later journey to Jerusalem, and his death on the cross.

3. Jesus also taught the multitudes. While he drew no social distinctions, and worked with the rich as well as the poor (*Lk.* 8.23; 18.18, 24), his Messianic consciousness sent him especially to the common people, for they needed him and were open to his message. The divine pity in his heart mingled with the prophetic tradition in favour of the 'People of the Land.' "And coming forth, he saw a great multitude, and he had compassion on them, because they were as sheep having no shepherd, and he began to teach them many things" (*Mk.* 6.34). For the same reasons that he taught the disciples, he taught the common people. It was all one process—the disciples were his intermediaries. He presented the Kingdom in a way to make men want to enter it (*Mt.* 13.44), and also told them of its nature and growth (*Mk.* 4.26; *Mt.* 13.44). God's Kingdom was bound to come, but it was the rule of God in the heart, inner renewal in the highest morality. In fact, its coming could be *hastened* by a ready and enlightened acceptance of God's rule *now*, and Jesus was keen to arouse the *faith* that would bring the Kingdom in. Here we meet with the problem that underlies our whole understanding of Jesus' thought in this regard. Did he think of the Kingdom as John did—coming on the clouds of glory at some near

point of time but demanding an ethical repentance? Or did he think of it as growing gradually in the hearts of men till it should fill the earth? Both and neither. To Jesus this distinction would not have been valid. We see here two strands of thought, and if we were to choose the one that would best represent Jesus, it would be the latter, for in that, he was original, and therefore, most himself. But the conception was a unit in the mind of Jesus, and this unity was made possible for him by his Jewish conception of God. For God, on the one hand, is the Creator and Ruler of Heaven and earth, and he can do with them what he pleases. But, on the other hand, he is loving, just, and wholly ethical in his demands; and allegiance to him must be free. So then to Jesus the Kingdom was *bound* to come, and at its coming would transform the earth, judge the peoples, and usher in an everlasting age of righteousness. But the *process* by which it comes must be that of individual repentance, renewal and moral contagion—a process of spiritual growth and spread. This we learn from the parables of the Kingdom. These parables reveal Jesus' fundamental conceptions better than any other recorded material, for in their simple art, deep wisdom and originality, they are the most likely of all his sayings to be authentic. Moreover, they seem to be the heart of his popular teaching. Hence we should make them the norm in our estimate of Jesus' thoughts. In the parable of the seed growing of itself (*Mk.* 4.26), we have a simple, true, and comprehensive picture of Jesus' conception of the Kingdom. Jesus and his disciples, and any others who want to help (*Mk.* 9.40), sow the seed by preaching the coming of the Kingdom with its laws of inward righteousness, and by casting out the powers of Satan. But God brings about the growth which is both rapid and sure. 'When the fruit permits,'—when the spiritual, social growth has reached maturity, when the people have all been evangelized, when the humble and willing have accepted, and the haughty and wicked have rejected the message of the Kingdom—then comes the harvest, judgment or consummation. Nothing more is left to be done.

*The sudden revelation of the Kingdom in its glory is the climax of organic growth.* The parable of the mustard seed shows how an insignificant beginning quickly makes an imposing spiritual structure (Mt. 13.31). The parable of the wheat and the tares shows that good and evil will grow together till judgment. God alone can distinguish the good from the bad. To destroy the wicked now would be to harm the good, for persons are inextricably bound together in society. God will dispose when the good news has fully spread (Mt. 13.24). The key phrase 'when the fruit permits' shows that the coming of the Kingdom is not arbitrary, but contingent upon spiritual progress, upon the activity of men. Yet far be it from Jesus to think that the coming will be slow, with a chance that men may fail. Its coming is certain and speedy, for God wills it; it's *bound* to come; *God's Spirit*, working through his servants, is bringing it in. The teaching of Jesus was fundamentally ethical because he expected the growth of moral forces to bring about the glorious coming.

As Messiah, or representative of the Kingdom, Jesus would regard himself as a healer as well as a preacher and teacher in the giving of health, for the powers of Satan which cause sickness, demon-possession and death would be overthrown, and God's Kingdom established. These works of power Jesus did not regard so much as 'signs' or 'wonders' as simply the manifestation of God's Spirit, an evidence of the nearness of the Kingdom (Mt. 12.28). As such, they depended on faith and the sense of forgiveness. (Lk. 5.20.) He rejoiced that *others* as well as he could do these works (Lk. 10.18), and therefore sees 'Satan fallen as lightning from heaven.' In reply to the message from John the Baptist asking whether he is the Messiah, he sums up his healing work with satisfaction, and asks John to judge for himself. Yet he never liked to have his main preaching and teaching ministry entirely diverted by some individual needing attention. If he had yielded at all times to requests for cure, the spiritually hungry audiences would have degenerated into begging mobs. On the other hand, he could not turn away even the least; so he

healed, and enjoined silence, that his main or preaching work might not be thwarted.

As a preacher of the Kingdom, Jesus was aided by his disciples, and opposed by the Pharisees and Scribes. There was much good, no doubt in the Pharisees, but to the fiery, prophetic soul of Jesus, all their teachings merely obscured the main issues. "Leaving the commandments of God," he told them, "ye hold the traditions of men" (*Mk.* 7.8). There was not even ground for argument between Jesus and the Pharisees, they stood upon different principles: the Pharisees upon the law, and Jesus upon his prophetic sense of mission, as well as the vital needs of the 'People of the Land.' Conflict was inevitable. After each encounter, Jesus withdraws to a more fruitful situation (*Mk.* 2.13; 3.7; 7.24; 8.13). His aim is to get the message of God to the people. To this end, he gathers a group of regular disciples. (*Mk.* 3.14.) He needs them both to provide comforting companionship and to multiply his efforts as apostles of the Kingdom. But *Luke* 6 gives us another insight into his reason for choosing a definite group. He has just been in conflict with the Pharisees. "They were filled with madness, and conferred one with another what they should do to Jesus." Soon after, Jesus goes up into a mountain, and spends a whole night in prayer to God. Can we not imagine, that at this critical moment, when his life was threatened and the outcome of his work was uncertain, that he took measures to safeguard the continuance of his message by appointing a regular ministry. (*Lk.* 6.12, 13, 27.) Soon after, rejected at Nazareth (*Mk.* 6.6), he is convinced that more and more the burdens must fall upon the disciples. So he sends them forth to do his work. He has met persecution, and so he predicts it for them (*Mt.* 10.16). The disciples are to make a rapid, cursory and unencumbered tour to preach and heal in Israel, not in Samaria or Gentile lands. Neither the background nor the faith exists there to make the preaching worth while. But the foreign peoples are not to be excluded from the Kingdom; they are to share with Israel in the coming joy (*Lk.* 13.29). Thus,

Jesus conceived himself as a Messiah who on earth was at once a preacher, a teacher, a healer and an organizer.

#### *V. Peter's Confession.*

After the tragic death of John, Jesus seeks rest and retirement; he wants an opportunity to think over his mission (*Mk.* 6.31; *Mt.* 14.13a). He wants to get away both from the nagging Pharisees and the clamouring people, so he goes into 'heathen' lands. His words have not borne fruit in high places, among the leaders of the cities, where the ground is thorny; but the common people have heard him gladly. He does not depart because his mission is a failure; for indeed, the common people to whom he was sent were never so eager to hear him as now (*Mk.* 6.33); neither is there evidence that he flees from the Pharisees. But things are coming to a head: the people are more enthusiastic, the cities more obdurate and faithless, the Pharisees more bitter, and John, the forerunner of the Messiah, has been killed. Great changes are taking place, God's will is being done: so Jesus wants time to think, and to find out God's will more clearly. He desires to get into closer touch with his disciples and decide his future destiny. It is the first crisis of his ministry.

"And Jesus went out, and his disciples, into the villages of Caesarea Philippi. And in the way, he asked his disciples, saying to them, Who do men say that I am? And they told him, saying, John the Baptist; and others, Elijah; but others, one of the prophets. And he asked them, But who do ye say that I am? Peter, answering, says to him, You are the Christ. And he began to teach them that the Son of Man must suffer many things, and be rejected by the elders and the chief priests, and the scribes; and be killed; and after three days, rise again. And openly he spoke the saying. And Peter, taking him aside, began to rebuke him. But he, turning about and seeing his disciples, rebuked Peter, and said, Get behind me, Satan, for you do not seek that of God, but that of men" (*Mk.* 8.27-33).

Jesus puts his telling question mainly in order that he may reply and inform his disciples more fully as to his mission which he has now come to see quite clearly as sacrificial. He no doubt is curious to know what men are thinking about him, but this is of small importance; spiritual discernment could hardly be expected from the untutored people or a hostile class. But the most wistful question is put to the disciples directly. "Who do ye say that I am?" They had been with him in his labours and intimacies. It is significant, that he had been in prayer (*Lk.* 9.18). No doubt, in this fresh experience of God, he had determined to set his face toward Jerusalem as the Suffering Messiah. His ideal shone vividly in his own mind, but he was the only one on earth who saw it; would it become objectified in the minds of his companions? Peter boldly acclaims him the Christ, that is, the Messiah. He strictly enjoins silence. Why?

He evidently held a deep reason for this behest. (1) It may have been chiefly due to his desire to follow God's guidance. God is the one who chooses and directs his Messiah, and the Son should wait upon the Father. Only when being convicted, and perfectly sure of the outcome, does Jesus declare himself. (*Mk.* 14.62). (2) The proclamation of such a secret would give rise to wrong views of his mission, and publicly pervert his spiritual desire. (3) Moreover, in one sense, he really was not actually Messiah (according to the accepted view of the office of God's 'Anointed') for he was not yet performing the functions of a Messiah, which should fall to him in the Coming Age after his death (*Mk.* 9.9). (4) But his main reason for the command of silence was to avoid death until his death should be *significant*. He wanted to remain master of his movements: not his opponents, but *God* should direct his life. There were special reasons why he should die at Jerusalem, the great capital and the Holy City.

Even after he declares himself to the disciples, he does not tell the people in general till the time of the Messianic entry. This is a further indication that he was conscious of Messiahship from baptism, but was able to keep it to himself. Peter has

reached up to the idea of the Christ, and Jesus begins to tell his disciples (what he has discovered through his thwarted ministry and meditation on those rejected of old) that this term must mean.

It was natural and fitting that Jesus should predict his suffering and death at this time. Later, the whole journey to Jerusalem of Jesus together with his disciples, the mention of fire and baptism (*Lk.* 12.49), and the cup they both shall drink (*Mk.* 10.39) presupposes the revelation of *suffering*. And the *time* of the revelation of suffering must have coincided with the revelation of Messiahship, for Jesus would not have let them hold a false estimate of His Messiahship, and he knew he was to suffer or else he would not have made the journey to the cross. That he really went up to Jerusalem to die there can hardly be doubted: a host of passages so testify. And yet the idea of a suffering Messiah was so wholly new that only after the resurrection could the disciples really accept it.

The *rising again* referred to by Jesus probably implies *exaltation as a spiritual Messiah*. Why? (1) He mentions it here in connection with the necessity of fulfilling his mission as Messiah. (2) In *Mark* 9.9 he tells 'the Three' (Peter, James and John) not to mention the divine sanction given to his course by the Transfiguration, until he shall have risen from the dead; implying thereby, that they should not mention the *proof* of his glorious Coming till its *fulfilment*. (3) Soon after his death, his disciples come to believe in his exaltation as Messiah. The Resurrection was used only as a proof of this; it was not sufficient to explain his heavenly power; many men had risen from the dead, but were not Messiahs; Jesus must have told them he was to be exalted. Indeed, various passages in the Gospels do indicate this, *the double idea of suffering and exaltation*. (*Mk.* 8.31, *Mt.* 20.22,23.) These considerations indicate that we should consider *Risen* as equivalent to *Exaltation as Messiah*.

Peter has reached up to the conception of the Messiah, but not to the spiritual height of Jesus' conception. We do not know whether Peter was thinking of a Davidic king, or of an an-



gelic *Son of Man*; but we may rightly infer that the element of suffering was not there. His conception was thoroughly Jewish. Impulsively he rebukes Jesus because such a description does not match with his life-long view of the Messiah, and in addition, he has the natural human feeling for Jesus, and does not want to see him suffer. Jesus turns about and rebukes Peter the more warmly, perhaps, because Satan through Peter is again bringing him the temptation to disobey the heavenly vision. (Cf. *Mt.* 4.8-10.)

It is likely that Mark thought of Jesus as the Christ or Messiah who was the angelic Son of Man of apocalyptic literature; but as one who suffered. In this double function did he fulfil the office of Messiah. *Mark* 8.31, 9.12, 9.31, 10.33, 10.45, 14.21, and 14.41 all point to a Son of Man who suffers.

What did Jesus himself think? In the first place, we must go over the fourteen cases where the term *Son of Man* appears in *Mark*, and see what the Aramaic original means. In *Mark* 2.10 and 2.28 it probably means 'this man,' or 'I.' *Mark* 8.31, 9.31, and 10.33 may be properly explained by having 'that man' refer to 'Christ,' reading, "And he began to teach them that 'that man' (referring to 'the Christ') must suffer." So with 8.38 and 14.62, where it may easily refer to a preceding concept. In Verse 9.12 it refers to Elijah. Verse 13.26 is in the doubtful apocalyptic passage; but it may be lumped with 9.9, 10.45, 14.21, and 14.41, where we have little reason to doubt that Jesus used the term 'the man.' He used it to designate himself. '*The Man*' equals *Jesus*. Jesus reproduced the office of *no one character* in Scripture or apocalyptic or tradition. *He was himself*, combining the deepest and truest elements that he found in his meditations on the Scriptures.

These verses in their totality point to a Messiah who suffers and dies for others on earth, and comes to rule in the New Age of the Kingdom of God as the exalted Messiah. This point of view is borne out by *Luke* 12.49,50 and 13.32, which also lay down the necessity of suffering followed by triumph. Indeed, Jesus

purposely seeks to teach this law of the coming Kingdom: Those who suffer shall rule: the first shall be last, and the last first.

If we want to find a prophesied figure most nearly resembling Jesus, we should turn to the 'Suffering Servant.' For he was 'A Man' of sorrows (*Isaiah* 53.3), he suffered (*Is.* 53.4,5, *Mk.* 8.37), he opened not his mouth (*Is.* 53.7, *Mt.* 26.63), bore the sins of many (*Is.* 53.12, *Mk.* 10.45), and comes in triumph (*Is.* 53.12, *Mk.* 14.62.) The *confession* of Peter did not suggest to Jesus that he might be the Messiah, and the *reply* of Peter was only partially true, having to be sternly and gravely corrected. To a large extent, Jesus created his own destiny, and then proceeded to fulfil it.

## VI. The Cross.

The later ministry of Jesus, viewed from the outside, was probably little different from his preaching tours in Galilee. He still taught the gathered multitudes (*Mk.* 10.1, *Lk.* 20.1) and ran into conflict with the Pharisees. (*Mk.* 10.2.) According to *John*, he did not hesitate to enter Jerusalem twice. (*Jn.* 7.14, 10.22.) *Luke* tells us that Jesus sent out the Seventy disciples with practically the same message that he had given to the Twelve. There is no formidable reason to doubt the record that Jesus *did* send out the disciples to announce the Kingdom and cast out demons as before. The report of the disciples on their return, and the exulting reply of Jesus appears to be original. (*Lk.* 10.17, 18.20.)

It is significant to note that in spite of Jesus' new relation to his disciples, and his clarified vision of the future, he does not change his tactics: he is still the prophet and preacher of the Kingdom, seeking to arouse faith. More decisiveness however, enters into his speech: "Leave the dead to bury their own dead, but do thou go and announce the Kingdom of God." (*Lk.* 9.60.) "Go tell that fox, Behold, I cast out demons, and perform cures to-day and to-morrow, and on the third day I am perfected." (*Lk.* 13.32.) "Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish!" (*Lk.*

13.5.) It is during this period that he says : ‘ It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God. (Lk. 18.25.)

Jesus had told the disciples that he must die and come again shortly as the exalted Messiah in the Kingdom of God. (Mk. 8.31.) They must go on as before, serving and praying to God with great faith that the Kingdom may come (Lk. 18.1-8a), but they must also *watch*. (Mk. 13.33 ; Mt. 25.13.) He likens his own departure to that of a nobleman going to receive a Kingdom and return (Lk. 19.12), and calls the disciples his stewards. Since the Kingdom is a moral growth, the coming of the Son of Man (Jesus) will, of course, be universal and unexpected ; they cannot foretell it, For only the Father knows the time. (Mk. 13.29, 32.) In the meanwhile, the disciples are to remember Jesus, and the fact that they, as friends of his and as servants of God, have a share in his sacrifice, and they look forward to the Kingdom meal of which the last Supper will be the pledge. (Mk 14.22.)

To Jesus, the preaching of the Kingdom was having its effect : fire was being cast on the earth, dividing families and severing the just from the wicked. (Lk. 12.49.) His baptism of death was a part of the whole plan, the new law of *the last* who shall be *first* (Mt. 21.31), of victory through suffering. He will reign supreme because he serves and suffers most ; the disciples will also reign because they suffer too. The humble and especially those who serve (Mt. 25.45) will have a part in the Kingdom, while the others will be cast out. He enters Jerusalem as Messiah on a humble ass, in order to make the issue clear. He curses the fig tree for its unfruitfulness, a parable of unfruitful Israel (Lk. 13.6) and asserts the authority of God in the temple. He chooses the time of the Passover to force this conflict because the Passover is both a great feast and a sacrifice commemorating deliverance. He is to be sacrificed to deliver those of God—the true Israel.

To Jesus himself, his death has the following significance :—

(1) Through its dark baptism, he will be translated to a

spiritual life of freedom, 'receive the Kingdom,' and be ready to come again as the exalted Messiah.

(2) Since God's Messiah is a suffering servant (*Lk.* 22.22) the most intense, public, and fruitful death is an integral part of reigning in power.

(3) His death is the price paid for his championship of the humble, 'a ransom for many.' The Kingdom comes by arousing faith, but because of opposition, suffering is bound up with faith. The great servant and minister is to be slain because he is fearless. By this spectacular death, more faith will be aroused, the cleft between the good and the evil will widen, and the Kingdom will be brought nearer. "My servant shall make many righteous."

(4) Jesus regarded his death as inaugurating a 'new covenant' the Kingdom of God; but he was not led to *suffer and die* by any prophecy as to a covenant, which indeed, did not mention blood. His death gave the covenant idea a new meaning, rather than *vice versa*: he sealed it with his blood, the blood of utter service in which his disciples would share.

In conclusion, we may say that Jesus interpreted himself as the Man appointed by God to preach in faith to the humble the good tidings of the Kingdom, with its joy, forgiveness and full righteousness; and through a life of love, service and sacrifice to attain the exalted Messiahship of the Kingdom in the Coming Age.

The problem of his self-interpretation arises because he said and did so many things that *seem* contradictory; but as we think over his mission, we see certain clear principles which unify his message.

(1) He consistently followed *God's leading* from start to finish. Only under God's guidance did he define more clearly his share in suffering and glory. He always had a great objective in the Kingdom, and a great source of power in God.

(2) *He consistently selected moral values. This accounts for his independent handling of Scripture and his prophetic word-pictures. He ever chose the noble and rejected the base.*

(3) *He consistently preached that faith would bring in the Kingdom. Never did he think that mere suffering or hope could be a substitute for this enterprising trust. His Suffering and hope were the outcome of his faith, and a stimulus to faith in others. The glorious coming of the Kingdom on earth would merely be the God-given reward and seal of the faithful work of the people.*

*(Concluded.)*

WENDELL THOMAS

## INDO-PERSIAN ARCHITECTURE

As regards the funerary architecture 'although Susa would seem to have been the favourite city of the Kings of Persia, nothing has been found in the immediate neighbourhood that resembles royal tombs.' 'Persia counted thirteen sovereigns from Cyrus to Darius Codomanus, including the Magi Smerdis. It would appear that four sovereigns had no special monument set up to them in the necropolis. The internal evidence points to Xerxes, Artaxerxes Codomanus, and Darius Nothus as the princes that were entombed at Naksh-i-Rustem, whilst the younger cemetery at Persepolis was inaugurated by Artaxerxes Mnemon. There are then twelve princes and eight tombs, reckoning the Gabre.'

'All these tombs with but slight differences of detail, are as like one another as it is possible to conceive; to describe one is to describe them all.'

'The total height of each is 22m. 50c. divided into three portions of almost equal size. (According to Coste the length of transverse limb of the façade at Naksh-i-Rustem is 18m. 63c., length of upper and lower limb 11m. The height of tomb No. 10 at Persepolis is given at 24·50c.; middle portion, 17m., length of upper division, 10·50c.). The middle and longer compartment, in conjunction with the other two, forms what is called a Greek cross. The monument, properly so called, begins with the middle section, carved architecturally into four engaged columns and a lofty double recessed doorway, surmounted by an Egyptian gorge, and a row of dentels, so as to reproduce a palace façade. The upper portion of this doorway is solid rock, but the lower section is cut away, so as to provide an entrance to the vault excavated in the mass behind. The field contains a bas-relief of an essentially religious character: upon a stage the King is seen on a pedestal raised by four

*steps, in the act of worshipping..... Above, between the King and the altar, floats the image of Ahura-Mazda, borne on huge wings, behind which a solar disc is roughly suggested.'*

So far as the 'Tower of Silence' is concerned it can claim no architectural skill or beauty, because it was never meant to be visited by anybody except the vultures.

There is nothing like the Persian tombs in India. The Stupas<sup>1</sup> and the Chaityas<sup>2</sup> are entirely different monuments: their appearance, measurements and architectural details are fundamentally different from those of Persian tombs. The Stupas were erected as towers to commemorate some events or sacred spots; as Dagobas they contained relics of Buddha, or of some Buddhist saints. For comparison in details the topes at Sanchi, Sarnath, Amaravati, Gandhara, Jelalabad, Manikyala, the Dagoba at Ajanta, and the temple at Buddha Gaya may be referred to.

According to Hodgson the Indian stupas in Nepal are known as Chaityas. But according to Fergusson<sup>3</sup> the Buddhist Chaityas at Bhaja, Nasik, Ellora, Karle, etc., correspond in every respect with the churches of the Christian religion rather than to the Persian tombs. "Their plans, the position of the altar or relic casket, the aisles, and other peculiarities are the same in both, and their uses are identical, in so far as the ritual forms of the one religion resemble those of the other." But the Chaityas were much earlier buildings than even the Christian Church, because the ceremony of entombing sacred ashes and other relics is mentioned in the Vedas. In the *Rāmāyana* also the Brahmanical chaityas are alluded to. Later on Chaitya became a synonym for temple.<sup>4</sup>

The Avesta condemns in no measured terms the worshippers of the Daevas or Demons, and in a general way whoever

<sup>1</sup> For details see the Writer's Dictionary (pp. 705-707).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 199-203.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 50-51.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 200, 201, 199.

does not strictly observe the rules established by Zoroaster in that he exposes himself to pollute the sacred elements : fire, earth and water.

In the words of Herodotus (1.121) the Persians " have neither images, nor temples, nor altars ; these they consider unlawful, and impute folly to those that make them. This is because they do not believe like the Greeks (and the Hindus) in the personality of the gods. Their practice is to sacrifice to Zeus on the summit of the highest mountains, and under the name of Zeus they understand the whole circumference of the heavens." Cicero (De Republica, III, IX, 14 ; De Legibus, II, X, 26) by way of explaining the cause of Xerxes's burning of the temples of Athens, says, that it was to punish the Greeks 'for their sacrilege in their foolish attempt " to shut up within walls the gods, before whom everything ought to be open and free ; the gods, whose temple and habitation were the whole universe.' " The Avesta, however, 'contains no sign or token of the feeling imputed to the Persians by the Greek historian, and more explicitly the Roman orator.' The Persians burnt the Grecian temples probably 'to avenge the sacking of Sardes.' (Herodotus, vi. 96,100.)

King Darius claims, however, to have restored to the people among other things 'the temples that Gaumata the Magi had destroyed.'<sup>1</sup> The original term, of which 'temples' is the translation, is 'ayadana,' from the root 'yas' signifying 'to adore.' The proper rendering of the word should be 'sacred place,' 'place of worship' and need not mean temple at all.

But on the façade of the rock-tombs referred to above 'we have seen the King in the act of prayer, standing before an altar upon which the celestial fire is burning.' Up to the present nothing of this kind has been, however, found in Persia, though in many places monuments have been noticed to which the name of Atesh-ga (fire-places) is applied by the natives.

<sup>1</sup> Darmesteter, *Etudes Iraniennes*, tom. ii, pp. 129, 130. The passage belongs to the first column of the inscription.



But for their dimensions that are on a larger scale than those of the altars figured in the upper division of the royal tombs, crowned with sacrificial fire, they might be taken as replicas of these.

Even assuming the existence of altars in Persia they could never look like the Indian altars out of which the Hindu temple seems to have developed. 'The *Sulva-sūtras*, which are but the supplementary portions of the *Kalpa-sūtras* furnish us with interesting structural details of the large altars built of bricks. These altars were constructed in different shapes, first enumerated in the *Taittiriya-saṁhitā* (v. 4, 11). Following this enumeration Bāudhāyana and Āpastambha furnish us with full particulars. These altars were divided into ten classes according to their shape and other details : (1) Chaturasra-syenachit, so called because it resembles the form of a falcon and the bricks out of which it is composed are all square-shaped; (2) Kanka-chit, in the form of a heron is the same as the preceding one except the two additional feet ; (3) Alaja-chit, is the same except the additional wings ; (4) Prauga-chit, is an equilateral triangle; (5) Ubhayatah-Praugachit, is made up of two such triangles joined at their bases; (6) Ratha-chakra-chit, is in the form of a massive wheel without spokes, as well as with sixteen spokes; (7) Drona-chit, is like a vessel or tube, square or circular; (8) Parichayya-chit, has a circular outline and is equal to the Ratha-chakra-chit, differing in the arrangement of bricks which are to be placed in six concentric circles; (9) Samuhya-chit is circular in shape, and made of loose earth and bricks; and (10) Kurma-chit, resembles a tortoise and is of a triangular or circular shape.

'Every one of these altars was constructed of five layers of bricks, which together, came up to the height of the knee ; in some cases ten or fifteen layers, and proportionate increase in the height of the altar were prescribed. Every layer in its turn was to consist of two hundred bricks; the first, third, and fifth layers were divided into two hundred parts in exactly the same manner; a different division was adopted for the second

and the fourth, so that one brick was never laid upon another of the same size and form.'

'The first altar covered an area of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  *purushas*, i.e.,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  squares each side of which was equal to the height of a man (*purusha*) with uplifted arms. On each subsequent occasion the area was increased by one square *purusha*. Thus, at the second layer of the altar one square *purusha* was added to the  $7\frac{1}{2}$  constituting the first *chiti*, and at the third layer two square *purushas* were added, and so on. But the shape of the whole and the relative proportion of each constituent part had to remain unchanged. The area of every *chiti*, whatever its shape might be—falcon, wheel, tortoise, etc.,—had to be equal to  $7\frac{1}{2}$  square *purushas*.<sup>1</sup>

As regards the temple the worshippers of Fire (as an element) could hardly think of any because the god of fire was never idolised by them and the idol-worship only needs a temple proper.<sup>2</sup> Dieulafoy's description of a building in ruins situated in the Susian Plan, which Perrot and Chipiez quote but criticise,<sup>3</sup> would hardly apply to a Hindu, Buddhist, or Jain temple. All we are really sure about is the *atesh-gah*, "the sole monumental type and representative of the religious architecture in Persia." This figured on the bas-reliefs of Persepolis and is encountered all over the country. On a coin posterior to Alexander is figured a monument, by the side of which a king stands in the attitude of prayer. "A glance suffices to show that we are in face of an *atesh-gah*. Three altars with very salient horns rise upon a block of masonry, whose base and entablature the engraver has indicated; between the pillars at the angle, two parallel flights approach laterally the landing place that let to the platform."

"If during the Parthian domination the Mazdian temple thus preserved its traditional form, it was not likely to lose it

<sup>1</sup> For further details see the Writer's *Indian Architecture*, pp. 7, 8.

<sup>2</sup> See 'Fine Arts' (pp. 212-215) by the writer, I. H. Q., June 1929.

<sup>3</sup> *History of Art in Persia*, pp. 240-259.

with the Sassanidae, when Mazdaism became the state religion." Then Perrot and Chipiez conclude with the remark "that the notion of a temple built by a Sassanial prince must be abandoned as illusory. All we know is that the sacred fire continued to ascend to heaven throughout the duration of the second empire, precisely as it had done during the first."<sup>1</sup>

'Religious beliefs which discountenanced inhumation had not favoured the development of funerary architecture, and the monotheistic tendencies of a cult whose sanctuaries at the outset were the bare summits of lofty mountains, had retained throughout, even when it could command the resources of a mighty empire, the elementary and primitive form of the temple, an altar set upon a plinth more or less elevated, rising on an esplanade open to sky. Such simplicity and uniformity as these were in perfect harmony with the spirit of Magism and in accord with the character of its rites.'

The principal effort of the Indian builder, on the other hand, was brought to bear upon the temples, which have been distinguished as male, female, and neuter ; as round, oval, rectangular, quadrangular, octagonal, and of other shapes; as running to seventeen stories ; as having ninety-eight, forty-five, and ten types.' 'They display an exuberance of fancy, a lavishness of labour, and an elaboration of detail to be found nowhere else.' Even the most ardent advocate of Persian theory could not think of Persian influence upon Indian temples.

Sculpture is intimately associated with temples ; in the absence of the latter the former cannot naturally develop. 'As to the statues of gods and goddesses, it is well-known that they could not obtain in Persia until the fourth century B. C. when Ochus, affirms Berosus, set up statues to Anahita in the principal towns of the empire. But the traces of those simulacra have not been preserved.' 'A descriptive passage in

<sup>1</sup> Perrot and Chipiez, pp. 250, 252.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Writer's Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, pp. 330, 331.

the *Vendidad-sada* may possibly apply to the images of Anahita.<sup>1</sup>

"No statuary has been found which might have served to decorate their (Persian) places."<sup>2</sup> But according to Plutarch<sup>3</sup> statues were actually made in Persia; he recounts that when the soldiers of Alexander entered the capital of Persia, they cast down a statue of Xerxes from its pedestal. But Perrot and Chipiez think that "the so-called statue may have been no more than an image carved upon a stela, like those of the bas-reliefs at Persepolis, representing the Kings for whom the palaces were built." 'As in Assyria, here also, bas-relief was the sculptor's favourite mode of expression.' Excepting small figures disinterred in the ruins of Susa all sculptures were in low relief. The only monument left to represent the primitive period of Persian sculpture is the Cyrus at Pasargadae; but its head, hands, and feet are "terribly defaced," so that "it is more especially," admit Perrot and Chipiez<sup>4</sup> "from the costume that we surmise where the artist took his models."

'Simultaneously with the King, the soldiers and the tribute-bearers, animals too have become mere abstractions, and only interest the sculptor so far that they play a part in the festival given in honour of the monarch. To the lion is allotted the largest place in the bas-reliefs at Persepolis.'

"The fault of these representations resides in this, that neither King nor monster appear to fight in good earnest and for dear life. The attitudes of the conqueror and the vanquished are tame, conventional, and uniform."<sup>5</sup>

In India, on the other hand, we possess innumerable examples of sculpture, and bas-reliefs both high and low. There is also most elaborate literary evidence furnishing all details. As

<sup>1</sup> *Zend-Avesta*, translated by James Darmesteter, *Vendidad*, Ch. XXX, tom. ii, p. 82. See also Perrot and Chipiez, p. 385.

<sup>2</sup> Perrot, 376.

<sup>3</sup> Alexander by Plutarch, XXXVII.

<sup>4</sup> P. 426.

<sup>5</sup> Perrot and Chipiez, *ibid*, p. 436; see the details, pp. 436-439.

in the buildings so also in sculpture and painting 'an exuberance of fancy, a lavishness of labour, and an elaboration of detail have been evinced in India. In the early Vedic age God is personified in natural phenomena, then He is given a human body, till at last He is conceived as having a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, and a thousand hands, etc. We see in the Pauranic age Brahmā is furnished with four heads, Śiva and other deities with three eyes, the goddess Śakti with ten hands holding various attributes, and the goddess of learning with a musical instrument and other objects, indicative of her profession. There are given in the treatises known as 'Śilpa-śāstrās' the minutest measures of the several limbs of the images of not only the gods and goddesses but also of sages, ordinary man and women, of animals and birds of well known species, even of fish and insects."<sup>1</sup>

"The Hindu image-maker or sculptor," Hadaway observes, "does not work from life, as is the usual practice among the (modern) Europeans, but he has, in place of the living model, a most elaborate and beautiful system of proportions, which he uses constantly, combining these with those of observation and study of natural detail. It is, in fact, a series of anatomical rules and formulae, of infinitely more practical use than any European system, for the Indian one treats of the actual proportion and of the surface form, rather than the more scientific attachment of muscles and the articulation of bones."<sup>2</sup>

Although there has been undeniable Grecian influence on the Gandhara (and Amarabati) sculpture there can, thus, be no possibility of any Persian influence on the Hindu, Buddhist or Jain sculpture or painting.<sup>3</sup>

*(To be continued.)*

P. K. ACHARYA

<sup>1</sup> See the *Writer's Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, under *Talamana*, pp. 221-243.

<sup>2</sup> *The Writer's Dictionary*, p. 244.

<sup>3</sup> The description of *Vahuman* can never correspond to that of *Brahma*.

## THE PROBLEM OF A SECOND CHAMBER IN INDIA.

Before the Reforms of 1919, the Indian Legislature was a unicameral body. Nor was then a Second Chamber at all necessary for good legislation. The administrative system of the country did not leave much power in the custody of the Legislative Council. The executive kept still a tight grip over the legislative branch of government. In fact, the differentiation of legislative and executive functions was not yet clearly recognised. The Governor-General in Council was still in theory both the legislative and executive authority. The Legislature was looked upon as nothing but an enlargement of the Executive Council. And the members of the Legislative Council who were not at the same time in the executive cabinet were known as added members of the Legislature. This could only imply that the legislative function was really vested in the Governor-General in Council and it was only for greater efficiency that some other members were invited to join in the deliberations. Any way the functions of this wider legislative body were not so important and so great as to warrant the revision of a Second Chamber. Besides, in this Legislative Council, the elective element was in a permanent minority and the Government had therefore not the least necessity of a Conservative Upper House to check the radical Lower Chamber.

Situation, however, changed considerably when it was proposed by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford to strengthen the elective element in the Legislature and augment its powers and functions. They advocated in their Report<sup>1</sup> on Indian Constitutional Reforms that two-thirds of the total strength of the Legislative Assembly should be returned by election.

<sup>1</sup> Para. 278.

While, however, this popular majority was to be given to the legislature, the executive was to remain an irresponsible one as hitherto. Chances of conflict between an irresponsible executive and a representative assembly were therefore to be foreseen and faced. Occasions would inevitably arise when the Assembly might refuse the Government the supplies they required and the laws they needed.

Under these circumstances if "the capacity of the Government of India to obtain its will in all essential matters" was to remain unimpaired, some device must be made to guard against such possible occasions of disagreement. Accordingly Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford proposed "to create a Second Chamber; known as the Council of State, which shall take its part in ordinary legislative business and shall be the final legislative authority in matters which the Government regards as essential."<sup>1</sup> A measure deemed urgent by the government might be initiated in the Assembly and opposed and rejected by it. Nothing daunted, however, the Government would now approach the Council of State where it had a set majority and introduce the measure afresh as if nothing had happened. With its seal of approval which would be forthcoming as a matter of course, the Government would put it on the statute book and act on it at once.<sup>2</sup> The Council of State was thus to be a velvet glove covering the iron hand of the Governor-General in Council. It was only to be a cloak over the autocracy of the irresponsible executive.

When the Government of India Bill, 1919, framed on these proposals of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford was referred to the Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament, the provisions with regard to the Council of State were to a great extent amended and recast. The Committee did not see the necessity of retaining the Council of State

*Ibid*, para. 277.

*Ibid*, para. 279.

"as an organ for government legislation."<sup>1</sup> It recommended its reconstitution "from the commencement as a true Second Chamber."<sup>2</sup> The Committee pointed out that if the Governor-General in Council wanted at all to promulgate a measure over the head of the popular Assembly he should do it openly on his own authority and responsibility without resort to any circumlocution. Accordingly it was recommended that the number of official members in the Council of State should not exceed one-third of the total membership.<sup>3</sup> And under the Government of India Act, 1919, out of a maximum of sixty members not more than twenty-four can be officials.<sup>4</sup> Of the remaining forty seats again at present thirty-four are elective.<sup>5</sup> The elective majority in the Council of State is thus decided though not overwhelming as in the lower House. Under these circumstances the Council of State could not be expected to fulfil the special function intended for it by the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals. Nor, as we have seen, from the recommendation of the Joint Select Committee, was this function to be vested in it at all. It was not expected to be a pocket borough of the Government. It was meant to be a true revising Chamber. In actual operation however it is less a revising body to-day and more of a Chamber fulfilling the special duty assigned to it by the joint authors of Indian Constitutional Reforms.

Under the present constitution, if any Government measure is mutilated or rejected by either Chamber of the Indian Legislature, it may still be turned into an Act under special circumstances. The Governor-General may certify that the passage of the original Bill is essential for the safety, tranquillity and interests of British India. If the certified Bill

<sup>1</sup> The Report of the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill (Parliamentary Paper), p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Section 62A, Sub-Section (1).

<sup>5</sup> Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, *The Indian Constitution* (1926), p. 67.



has already been discussed by both the Houses, it then becomes an Act with the signature of the Governor-General. If, however, it has been discussed *only in one House and negatived or otherwise undesirably modified there, it is, on certification, introduced in the other Chamber in its original shape.* Accepted or rejected by this body, it is presented to the Governor-General and with his signature becomes an Act.<sup>1</sup> The Council of State with its elective majority was thus not expected to be an organ for Government legislation. It was not expected to put its seal of approval upon every measure forwarded by the Government. The methods of certification of a Bill by the Governor-General as embodied in Section 67 B presuppose the rejection of an official Bill by both the Chambers. In point of fact, however, all the certified measures of the Government have had an overwhelming support of the Council of State. The Bills opposed and rejected by the Legislative Assembly as antagonistic to the interests of the people, received warm ovation and approval when reintroduced on certification in the Upper House. The Princes Protection Bill of 1922 was regarded even by such a moderate Legislative Assembly as that of the first term of the reformed regime<sup>2</sup> as an unnecessary curb upon Indian public opinion and as an unworthy interference with the freedom of the Indian press. It was accordingly, refused even the formal introduction in that body. The Governor-General, thereupon, certified the measure and had it introduced afresh in the Council of State. Here it had a plain sailing. It was adopted without a division by this Chamber.<sup>3</sup> Several months later, in 1923, the Assembly amended the Finance Bill to the effect that the tax upon salt, which affected so much the Indian masses, was slightly reduced. The

<sup>1</sup> Section 67B (1) (a) and (b) of the Government of India Act, 1919.

<sup>2</sup> The Congress people did not participate in the elections to the first reformed legislatures.

<sup>3</sup> The Council of State Debates, Vol. III of 1922, p. 620.

Government, however, not satisfied with this verdict of the Assembly, approached the Governor-General, had the Bill certified, and re-introduced it in the Council of State. Like the Princes Protection Bill it got a warm reception in this Chamber and was passed by it without any division.<sup>1</sup> In 1924 again, the Finance Bill was rejected by the Legislative Assembly on political grounds. And in this step taken, the Assembly had the whole-hearted backing of the country. The Bill certified by the Governor-General was, however, far from being rejected by the Upper House,--passed wholesale by it in course of two days only.<sup>2</sup> Similar was the attitude of the Council of State towards the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment (Supplementary) Bill of 1925. It was at first introduced in the Assembly which naturally took exceptions to this repressive measure. And when three vital clauses were negatived by this House, the Bill was not further pressed there by the Government. It was withdrawn with a certificate from the Governor-General to the Council of State. Here, of course, it met with practically no opposition and was passed by this body without a division.<sup>3</sup> The Council of State evinced a similarly servile temper in connection with the appointment in 1923 of the Royal Commission on the Superior Civil Services in India. The Legislative Assembly looked upon this appointment as a step towards the strengthening of the "steel frame" of the Indian bureaucracy. It was convinced that the result of this enquiry by the Commission would be nothing but greater emoluments for the Superior Services in India and a corresponding strain on the public purse. Accordingly a motion for adjournment was accepted by this body and an emphatic protest was entered against the imposition of this Commission upon the Indian people. A feeble attempt was also made by the Hon. V. G. Kale in the Council of State

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. III, Part II of 1923, p. 1397.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Part I, 1924, p. 732.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. V, 1925, p. 751.

to condemn the appointment of the Commission on similar lines. But it met with little response from this House of Elders.<sup>1</sup> The late Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee objected, in his evidence before the Joint Select Committee, to the establishment of the Council of State on the ground that "its first business, apparently, is to register the decrees of the Government."<sup>2</sup> We know that Section 20, Subsection (4) of the Government of India Bill, 1919, which laid down the chief function of the Council of State and evoked this criticism from Sir Surendra Nath was later on modified. And the Council of State, as it emerged out of the Parliamentary discussion and as it is today embodied in the Government of India Act, is indeed characterised as a true Second Chamber. But, notwithstanding all the changes in its constitution and functions, it is a body still registering the decrees of the Government, and as such it is in serious conflict with the Legislative Assembly which stands on popular rights and is consistently opposed to the irresponsible executive imposed upon the country from above.

Now in view of the elective majority in both the Houses the conflict between the two Chambers is something to be explained. Nor is the explanation far to seek. In the Legislative Assembly, out of hundred and forty-four members hundred and three are elected and they are elected also by a comparatively wide suffrage.<sup>3</sup> In the Council of State on the other hand the elected members have only a bare majority and even those elected are the representatives of wealth and vested interests.<sup>4</sup> Hence while the overwhelming majority of Assembly

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. III, Part II, 1923, p. 586.

<sup>2</sup> Report of the Joint Select Committee., Vol. II, p. 67.

<sup>3</sup> In Bengal people paying public works cess of not less than five rupees or paying Municipal tax of not less than five rupees or paying Chowkidary tax of five rupees or assessed to Income Tax on an income of not less than 5,000 rupees a year may vote.

<sup>4</sup> In the Burdwan division in the Bengal Presidency only the people paying land Revenue to the tune of 7,500 rupees a year or paying roads and public works cess of not less 1,875 rupees a year or assessed to income tax on an income of not less 12,000 rupees a year are voters.

professes go-ahead politics and demands radical reforms in the constitution, in the Council of State twenty-six out of sixty vote at the dictation of the reactionary bureaucracy and most of the remaining thirty-four also pin their faith to the *status quo* and rub accordingly their shoulders with the Government nominees. It is not unnatural, therefore, that a deep gulf should yawn between the two Houses of the Legislature. At present, of course though the differences between the two Chambers are frequent, they have not led to obstruction and dislocation of public business. This is because the Legislative Assembly has no direct responsibility at present for the government of the country. That function is vested in the Governor-General in Council—a body not responsible at all to the Assembly. The anomaly of the position of the Council of State has not yet been brought out into clear relief as it might have been done in a responsible form of government. This Chamber now uniformly supports the Government measures and—as consistently—opposes those that do not obtain the approval of the executive. This no doubt detracts considerably from the merits of the Council of State as a revising Chamber. But this gives few opportunities of deadlock. In the future, however, this system of irresponsible administration is sure to change and executive responsibility to the popular House of the legislature is bound to be initiated. In that case the Governor-General in Council, instead of being guided by White Hall, will have to draw its inspiration from the Legislative Assembly. The policy of the Government will be shaped according to the political ideals of the majority of this body. This will make many of the Government measures at once anathema to the majority in the other House—a majority elected on a narrow franchise and professing narrow political ideals. All the liberal measures initiated in and supported by the popular assembly will hence stand the risk of being baulked in the Second Chamber. Nor will this power of thus obstructing liberal legislation be any way limited, if the present powers of the Council of State continue in the

future. At present, the two chambers practically enjoy a co-ordinate authority.<sup>1</sup> The Council of State, of course, has no jurisdiction over the budget-grants which are made by the Legislative Assembly.<sup>2</sup> Nor can the finance Bill be initiated in the Upper House. Beyond these limitations, however, the two houses are equal in status. The Council of State may reject and even amend the finance Bill.<sup>3</sup> These wide powers in any second chamber would constitute a source of constant feuds and deadlock. They are still more a source of trouble when the two Houses are differently and antagonistically constituted. It is, therefore, time to lay down proposals for the constitution of the Second Chamber in the future legislature of India. But before the question of composition is taken up, we must determine the functions which this Upper House will be expected to discharge.

The future Indian Constitution is likely to be formed on a federal basis. Such a constitution would no doubt imply that a central law should not be passed without the consent of the majority of the people and the majority of the provinces constituting the federal union. In other words, the Houses of the central legislature should be co-ordinate in status and exercise equal powers. But however logical this plan may look in theory, in practice it is neither possible nor desirable to maintain the equality between the two chambers. This equal authority is especially undesirable in view of the ministerial responsibility to the legislature which will be introduced in India as in other Dominions. Nor can it be said to-day that the co-ordinate status of the Second Chamber is really indispensable in practice for the maintenance of the federal equipoise. The federal character of the Canadian Dominion has not been undermined in any way by

<sup>1</sup> Section 63 of the Government of India Act.

<sup>2</sup> Section 67 A, Sub-sections (6), (7) of the Government of India Act.

<sup>3</sup> But exception has been taken to the power of amendment. See Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, *The Indian Constitution*, p. 152.

the subordination of the Senate to the House of Commons. Nor will the Indian federation be at stake if the Second Chamber wield less authority than the first. Hence in determining the powers of the future Upper House of the Indian legislature, we cannot be accused of taking an anti-federal step if we do not make it equal in authority to the lower chamber. In fact, if we are to make the legislation efficient and at the same time easy and smooth, we should reduce the powers of the Senate. In most of the drafts prepared on the future constitution of India, we find advocated the ultimate subordination of the second chamber to the first. In that Draft Bill "to provide Self-Government for India," framed under the auspices of the Independent Labour Party in England, it is proposed no doubt in Section 46, to give equal powers to the two Houses of the Central legislature. No Bill, provides this Section, shall become an Act until it has been passed by both Houses of Parliament. The next Section of the Draft Bill, however, embodies a provision that—practically—makes the lower House supreme in the long run. If the two Chambers are not in agreement over a measure, the Governor-General must convene a joint sitting of the two bodies in the same session. The subject in question will then be discussed in this joint assembly and decided by a majority of votes. Now as the lower House will have double the membership of the Senate,<sup>1</sup> it will ordinarily win the day in the joint sitting. The view-point of the First Chamber will be upheld and that of the Senate will go to the wall. The recommendations of the Nehru Committee go even further as to the position of the Second Chamber. This Committee proposes to reduce the future Senate of India to the status of the British House of Lords so far as money Bills are concerned. Such Bills, passed by the lower House, will go to the Senate for discussion. This Chamber may recommend here and there some changes and

<sup>1</sup> In the fourth Schedule annexed to the Bill it is proposed to give two hundred and forty-seven members to the Senate and four hundred and ninety-four to the Assembly.

modifications in the Bills, otherwise it will not be empowered to amend or reject them on its own authority. With the recommendations, the Bills will come back to the originating House which will then pass it finally accepting or rejecting the recommendations from the other House.<sup>1</sup> This definite stand of the Nehru Committee with regard to the authority of the Lower House over Financial measures has been timely and in consonance with Indian aspirations. The equal powers over finance Bills which the Council of State now exercises cannot be left to that body without inviting danger in the future. The future course of social evolution in India, depends to a great extent upon the financial policy of the Government. And it will be surely short-sighted not to give the direct representatives of the people an untrammelled voice over the formulation of this policy. As to the other subjects of legislation, the Committee leaves equal authority to both Chambers indeed.<sup>2</sup> But as in the case of the Independent Labour Party's Bill, it also provides for a joint sitting of the two Houses if the Senate does not give sanction within six months to a measure passed by the lower House.<sup>3</sup> This will furnish a clear opportunity to the House of Representatives ultimately to have its own way in legislations desired by it. For six months the Upper House may hold up a measure, but at the expiry of this period it will be a subject of discussion in the joint meeting of the two Chambers and decided by a majority vote which will in fact mean the triumph of the Lower House. Thus the recommendations of the Nehru Committee with regard to the power of the Second Chamber seem to be an improvement upon the provisions of the Independent Labour Party Bill on the same subject. When the monetary question is involved, it is better to be definite from the start and

<sup>1</sup> Report of the Committee presided over by Motilal Nehru and appointed by the All Parties Conference, to determine the principles of the Constitution for India (1928), p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 107.

place unequivocally the supreme power in the *Lower House*. In other fields of legislation, the solution of a contested measure may be left to the tardy decision of a joint meeting. In the case of ways and means and supply it is better to be laconic and limit the authority of the revising Chamber definitely to the cutting of t's and the dotting of i's. Political thinkers and statesmen of to-day are rather inclined to give power to the second chamber to hold up a subject of legislation only so long as the people do not speak definitely either way about it. According to this standpoint a measure may be rejected by the Upper House if it thinks that the attitude of the people is doubtful towards it. If however that subject becomes an issue in the next general election and the people send the majority favouring it to the legislature, the Upper House must waive its objection and pass it as it comes from the Lower Chamber. The Upper House, in other words, is to act as the ally of the people and the interpreter of their real will. Now the provision that has been made in the two drafts on the future constitution of India with regard to the settlement of a disagreement between the two Houses does not involve any consultation of the popular opinion. Three years after a general election a controversial measure may be taken up and decided one way by the lower House. As it reaches the Upper Chamber it may be opposed and thrown out by that body as antagonistic to the interests of the nation and the country. The people, of course, have not yet spoken anything about the measure. And instead of applauding the action of the representatives in the Lower House, they may actually support the attitude of the Upper Chamber. Hence if next at a joint sitting the decision of the latter body is overruled and that of the Lower House affirmed, it will certainly be an act not in conformity with true public opinion. This is, no doubt, a drawback of the provision but it must be understood at the same time that members of the lower House will not generally undertake a legislation which has not been already certified to by the people. Besides if at all they take



*a false step, there are other organs of public opinion including the newspapers which may tell them as to which way the wind blows. In this atmosphere if the measure is rejected by the Upper House there will be no pressure for the convoking of a joint meeting at all. Thus except in the case of a money Bill the two Houses should be given an equal authority and a co-ordinate position. But every measure which will be a cause of disagreement between the two Houses should be referred to the final decision of the joint sitting. This will give enough power to the second Chamber to revise and make improvement upon all subjects on the legislative anvil. This will even give full authority to that house to reject a bad Bill unwisely and hastily passed by the Lower Chamber, and what is more, it will give the Senate ample opportunity to check and frustrate the activities of any sinister combination in the House of Representatives. In fact, this will invest the Senate with all the attributes of a revising body and will withdraw from it all the powers that are of an obstructive character.*

*(To be continued)*

NARESHCHANDRA ROY

## A THOUGHT

If none were sick, and none were sad  
 What service could we render?  
 How could we offer (if we did not have)  
 Good deeds to God the Sender?

HENRY V. JALASS

## SNOBBISHNESS

No right-minded person likes to be thought a snob. Snobbishness as a fault has this peculiarity that people who suffer from it, do not cherish it. If you tell a lazy inert man that he is a 'slacker' he acquiesces with a bored complaisancy, secretly despising you for being energetic, or a curious one that he is inquisitive, and he says he "can't help wanting to know about things." The bad-tempered think bad temper an indication that one is not a milksop and delude themselves that it makes part of their strength. Few people would be absolutely faultless even if they could. Though everyone feels ashamed of their evil actions, no one is genuinely ashamed of their habitual misdemeanours. De Quincey was not, of being an opium-eater, however much he may disapprove of the practice. Limitations of character seem essential to our conception of our individuality, and it no more insults a man to accuse him of his essential failings than to tell him he is a lawyer or a blacksmith or whatever he is. People like when others see in them the personality they imagine themselves to be, even when they do not think themselves perfect—quite a different thing from liking to be told of the wrong acts they have done. A Macbeth would not object to being called ambitious, though he would resent being called a murderer. Strictly speaking he is not a murderer. He performs a murder from an ambitious impulse, doing something contrary to his real nature to gratify an inclination of it. Snobbishness is a habitual weakness like ambition. Since we can tolerate our own familiar weaknesses and those of our friends, if we do not suffer from them, why should snobs neither cherish their snobbishness nor like others to point out the failing?

Sincere snobbishness is a social quality not a personal one. Even gossip is not so essentially social. A social object may

*excite the gossip but the impulse is pre-social. Curiosity, bad-temper, laziness, ambition belong to the non-social portion of our individuality; they belong to us as part of ourselves, and no one resents this part of him being emphasised. Snobbishness is not part of one's proprium. It cannot exist without society, does not belong to the marooned individuality of a man. We dislike being called snobs because that fault like Macbeth's murder is not part of our sincere selves, but a means to an end, a dirty short-cut to the palace of our desire.*

The natural attitude of men to fellow men is one of love or hatred, curiosity or indifference, admiration or disgust or amusement. Snobbishness is sincere only as a mob consciousness, a mob conscious of being different from another mob. It cannot arise until society divides into classes or kinds and until these kinds or classes bunch. A little beggar boy and a small millionaire can play together without the least class feeling or snobbishness until they go to school. There the small heir becomes conscious of a difference between his schoolmates and boys from a different class of school; he looks on the others as 'outsiders,' 'roughs' even 'cads.' One could not very readily feel snobbish towards one's cook because the relationship between master and servant is not a class but a personal family one, the household being a domestic aggregate rather than a social one. But were one's cook to marry one's friend, snobbish resentment could arise by the introduction of an exception into one's society. When a specific likeness among a circle of people becomes evident, and is assumed and when someone without the specific likeness enters the circle and breaks the uniform consciousness, then the resentment or amusement is snobbish. The snobbishness lies in the consciousness of exception. It is as if any circle or society bound together by similarity, generated a white light compounded of the mixture of colours of its individuals. Their consciousness of the white light, or distinguishing mark, is inevitable and presumably legitimate. It is at least a sincere snobbish consciousness. But when an

individual in the circle carries about with him that consciousness of apartness, substituting as it were for his individual colour the white light of his circle, his snobbishness is not sincere. This pretence is the crime. The snob pretends that he lives in a special atmosphere, and keeps hinting it, usually because having once felt the special amusement at those who interrupt the uniformity of his society, he fears to be peculiar himself, and is afraid of showing his true colour.

There are all sorts of snobs. Anything that forms a society or a circle may create them from an intellectual cult downwards. Even beauty gathered together may except the ugly. And snobbishness enters into our opinions and our sense of values, and especially our tastes. The intellectual dislike for words like 'clever' rises from a feeling of revulsion from the unintelligent who use the word unintelligently. Much contempt for slang is snobbish. The scorn for 'ripping' results from a scorn for those who use it. Many crudities which hurt a sheltered sensibility are possibly half snobbish. A loud voice may give one a sensation of physical pain, and if one cannot escape from it, a headache, but we cannot be sure that this does not result from snobbish disgust till we know whether the trombones playing *fortissimo* in an orchestra have the same effect. Snobbishness may enter into our preference for blends in colour over contrasts, and certainly accounts for the humour that delights in promiscuous colouring in wearing apparel, a purple hat, a red coat, brown stockings and black shoes. It is not that we dislike mixtures in colours, even violent ones, or Turkish carpets and a gaily clothed organ-grindress would offend. Turkish carpets and Italian peasants are too remote and abstract to seem vulgar, and when we call anything vulgar, or 'common' we pronounce a judgment tinged with snobbishness.

## THE IDEALISM OF THE SCHOOL OF DIGNĀGA

Unfortunately, we do not possess in Sanskrit a single work of the famous Buddhist philosopher Dignāga. He was so great that he is regarded as the father of mediaeval Indian Logic. Similar is the case with Dharmakīrti. Save and except the *Nyāyabindu*, a treatise on Logic, Dharmakīrti's other important works are all lost in Sanskrit. Almost all the works of those great men have been preserved in Tibetan and Chinese translations. From Sanskrit, we know very little of their philosophy.

There is however no doubt that both Dignāga and Dharmakīrti were the powerful exponents of the *Vijñānavāda* philosophy. Dignāga was influenced by Vasubandhu's philosophy, and became a disciple of him. He built up his epistemological and ontological conclusions on Vasubandhu's idealism. Apart from the Chinese and Tibetan sources, our knowledge of Dignāga's philosophy is based on some fragmentary statements that have been preserved in the writings mostly of the Non-Buddhist philosophers.

Dignāga in the *Ālambanaparīkṣā*<sup>1</sup> proved that there is no external object. The whole of experience is the creation of imagination. The various forms that we experience in our daily life, come into being through the instinctive tendencies of the *Buddhi*.<sup>2</sup> There is no substance, no causality; these are but the fictions of the understanding. The forms that appear in our consciousness are really internal. They have no reference to any external object. But those very forms appear as if they were external. But from the point of view of truth, there is no

<sup>1</sup> It is lost in Sanskrit. We have got a Tibetan translation of the book. It is a small treatise consisting of a few verses.

<sup>2</sup> *Tasmidhēca vijñānavāde buddhyārūdhena rūpeṇāntastha eva pramāṇaprameya-phalavyavahāraḥ sarva upapadyate.* Śāṅkara B.S. *Bhāṣyā*, Ch. II, p. ii, s. 28. See "Fragments from Dignāga" by Prof. Randle.

externality. The so-called external object is nothing but consciousness itself. The numerous forms of the world of experience have only one support, that is the Vijñāna or consciousness.<sup>1</sup> From the ultimate stand-point, there is only Vijñāna, nothing else exists. All other things are illusory in character. This is about the true nature of reality. But there is a world of experience. It cannot be wholly discarded. It has some sort of reality. According to Dignāga, the world of experience has a relative reality. So reality has a two-fold character. In its fundamental nature, it is colourless, there is no room for anything else. In its lower plane, it is not wholly a matter of imagination, though it has no absolute value. This admission of a relative reality has made it possible for Dignāga to construct a science of Logic. His theory of logical validity rests on the assumption that the ultimate truth has side by side another aspect which is manifested in the domain of experience.

Dharmakīrti's conclusions are almost the same with those of Dignāga. Dharmakīrti professed the Vijñānavāda philosophy although the theory of perception in the Nyāyabindu is admittedly written from a Sautrāntika's stand-point. Dharmakīrti, like Dignāga, discarded the theory of the existence of the external world. From an analysis of the contents of perceptual knowledge, Dharmakīrti concluded that for an adequate explanation of the facts of perceptual knowledge it is not necessary to postulate the existence of an external reality.<sup>2</sup> Consciousness is

<sup>1</sup> Acaryadigdhāgapādsairāmbanapratyayavyavasthārthamuktam

"Yadantarjñeyarūpaṃ tu bahirvadavabhāsatē

So'rtho (vi) jñānarūpatvāttatpratayayatāpi ca" iti.

Tattva-Saṃgraha, Vol. I, p. 582.

<sup>2</sup> It is really a problem to determine the attitude of Dharmakīrti towards external world. From the quotations in the Non-Buddhist writers, it appears that he discarded external reality. But in the theory of perception in the Nyāyabindu, we find that he holds that external objects exist. They are the objects of perception and are unique in their nature. (Tasya viṣayaḥ avalakṣaṇam.) Moreover, he maintains that by unique characteristics he means those characteristics by the nearness or otherwise of which there is a distinction in the knowledge itself (Yasyārthasya sannidhānsannidhānābhyāṃ jñāna-prati-

enough for that purpose. His famous argument that blue and the knowledge of blue are identical, because of the law of their being perceived together (*Sahopalambhaniyamādabhedo nīlatad-dhiyoḥ*) has been quoted by almost all the famous non-Buddhist writers. Some of the arguments of Dharmakīrti can be known from the writings of his opponents. It is generally believed that most of the arguments of the *Yogācāras* which have been preserved in the writings of the non-Buddhists have been taken from the works of the famous Dignāga and Dharmakīrti.

According to these writers there is but one ultimate reality, namely, *Vijñāna* or consciousness. The knower, the known, the act of knowing and the knowledge itself are all but different aspects of the same truth. The *Nyāyamañjarī* has given a fairly adequate account of the *vijñānavāda* philosophy from the writings of Dharmakīrti. The arguments of the *Śaṅkara-Bhāṣya* and the *Bhāmātī* have been taken from both Dignāga and Dharmakīrti. From a careful analysis of the account of *vijñānavāda* that is to be found in the Non-Buddhist writers, it is evident that Dharmakīrti was regarded as the representative writer of the *Yogācāra* school of Buddhist philosophy.

The conclusions of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti are not very much different from those of Vasubandhu. But the chief importance of these writers lies in the fact that they established their conclusions on a surer foundation. By an analysis of the

*bhāśabhedastat svalakṣaṇam*). This unique object of perception according to Dharmakīrti is ultimately real. (*Tacca paramārthasat.*)

It is equally an arduous task to reconcile this realistic position with his *Vijñānavāda* philosophy. Some are of opinion that the *Nyāyabindu* is written from the *Sautrāntika* stand-point. So it has nothing to do with the idealistic theories that are found in other works. This is a possible explanation. Others again have tried to explain the *Svalakṣaṇa*-theory of the *Nyāyabindu* in such a way as to fit in well with the idealistic position.

This is a problem for a historian of Indian philosophy. We cannot expect to get a satisfactory solution at the present moment since almost all the works of Dharmakīrti are lost in Sanskrit. There is however no doubt that he was an adherent of the school of *vijñānavāda*. In the concluding lines of his *Santānāntara-siddhi* he describes himself as a *vijñānavādin* and also the account of the *vijñānavāda* attributed to Dharmakīrti by the non-Buddhist writers bears testimony to this.

theory of knowledge, they concluded that no objective world can be proved which is outside and independent of the knowing subject. After an analysis of the origin of perceptual knowledge, Dharmakīrti concluded that the object of knowledge is not different from the knowledge itself. Hence the final conclusion was that there is nothing but consciousness. Dignāga and Dharmakīrti were followed by a number of philosophers but none of them were so great. In a much later work—the *Tattva-samgraha* of Śāntarakṣita, we find an exposition of the Yogācāra philosophy. There is no doubt that he was an adherent of Vijñānavāda. In the concluding verse of his *Bāhyārtha-parīkṣā* he says—the theory of the *Vijñaptimātratā* has been purified (*vimalikṛtā*) by the wise. I have also followed that path in order to find out the nature of the ultimate truth.<sup>1</sup>

In the examination of the Ātman-theory, Śāntarakṣita observes that the theory of the Upaniṣad is a little faulty because of their acceptance of the eternal character of reality.<sup>2</sup> What he means to say is this that his own theory of reality has much in common with the ātman-theory. His reality is vijñāna which is momentary as opposed to the eternal ātman of the Upaniṣad.

The most important point in the Vijñānavāda of Śāntarakṣita is that his vijñāna is not one, but there are innumerable vijñāna-santānas existing independently of one another.<sup>3</sup> In this respect this type of vijñānavāda differs from the Laṅkāvatāra and the Vasubandhu schools. Śāntarakṣita's numerous vijñānasantānas may be compared to the theory of the many Puruṣas of the Sāṅkhya philosophy.

<sup>1</sup> *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhīrdbhimadbhirvimalikṛtā*  
*Asmābhiataddiśā yātam paramārthaviniscaye*

*Tattvasamgraha*, Vol. I, p. 592.

<sup>2</sup> *Teṣāmalpāparādham tu darśanam nityatoktitāḥ*.—*Ibid*, p. 123.

<sup>3</sup> *Tatra vijñaptimātramevedam traidhātukam, tacca vijñānam pratisattvasantānabhedānantamaviśuddham cānadhigata-tattvānāṃ viśuddham ca prahīṇavarapānām pratikṣaṇaviśārū ca sarvapragabhṛtāmojyate, na tvakamevāvīkṛi yathopaniṣadvādināṃmiti vijñānavādināṃ bauddhānāṃ matam.*



According to Śāntaraksita, Citta is the ultimate reality. The Samsāra or the world of experience is nothing but the Citta itself when it is perfumed by the Kleśas. When it is freed from the Kleśas, the world vanishes away. As regards external objects he maintains that such objects do not exist.<sup>1</sup> Only the unintelligent people think that they exist. The Citta when it is under the influence of Vāsana, appears in the form of external objects. Similarly in many other places of his book, he maintains Vijñānavāda.

Śāntaraksita's work is a large collection of many philosophical theories. He quotes from almost all the famous philosophers and refutes their theories in order to establish his own. "In the Prakṛti-parīkṣā, Śāntaraksita dismisses the Sāṃkhya theory of Prakṛti and holds that the doctrine of the existent effect in the cause (Satkāryavāda) or of the non-existence of the effect in the cause (asatkāryavāda) are both untenable, because there is no object existent in the world except the Vijñāna or consciousness, which is momentary."<sup>2</sup> In many other places he advocates the same view. He says that there is nothing beyond Vijñāna. It assumes various forms of objects which are really non-existent. As regards the origin of objects he says their forms are determined by the actions previously performed. As regards the continuity of the world process, he maintains that the previous appearance of objects in the mind generates similar perception in strict accordance with the previous forms that are deposited in the mind as impressions.<sup>3</sup>

The external objects such as blue and yellow, are really non-existent and knowledge cannot perceive them. Knowledge does not perceive any reality which is external and the so-called external reality can never be the object of perception. The

<sup>1</sup> Grāhyalakṣaṇasamīyuktam na kiñcidiha vidyate.  
Vijñānapariṣāmo' yam tasmāt sarvaḥ samīkṣyate.

T. S., p. 128.

<sup>2</sup> B. Bhattacharyya, Intr. to T. S.

<sup>3</sup> T. S., p. 538.

objects of perception, such as blue, yellow, etc., do not really differ from the percepts of blue, yellow and the like. So he concludes that Vijñāna alone is the existent reality.

If the object given in perception, he continues, is supposed to be some external reality, then if it be a plurality, it must be identical with the Paramāṇus; if it be a unity, it must either be a conglomeration of atoms or some gross object having no relation with the atoms. Now the first position, *viz.*, the object is atomic in its nature, is untenable, for in our consciousness, there is no perception of the forms of atoms which are indivisible and many in number.<sup>1</sup> Knowledge always presents in our consciousness the form of some gross objects. Moreover, the Paramāṇus by definition are indivisible, which implies that they can have no form. So even if Paramāṇus exist we cannot know them. Hence the necessary conclusion is that there is no external object which is atomic in its nature.

Similarly, Śāntaraksita proves that the external object cannot be a conglomeration of atoms. If we cannot prove the existence of a single atom, how is it possible that the external object is made up of these imaginary atoms? So this hypothesis also cannot stand scrutiny. In the same manner, Śāntaraksita shows that even the third alternative, *viz.*, the external object is gross in its character, cannot be advocated.

Śāntaraksita, then explains how it is possible for Vijñāna to assume various forms independently of any external object. In common experience, he says, we often find that Vijñāna arises even when there is no object. In dream or in mirage, the Vijñāna appears in the form of an object, although the object is really non-existent; these facts of experience cannot be denied. We may extend this principle to all cases. So he concludes that

<sup>1</sup> Tatra pratyakṣasiddho'rtho bāhyo bhavannaneko vā paramāṇu' bhinno bhavet, eko vā tairārabdho'vayavi, sthūlo'nārabdho veti pakṣāḥ. Tatra na tavadādyāḥ niramāṇā-manekoṣṭmapūnāḥ mūrtiānāḥ grāhakaśya pratyakṣasāprativedanāt. Nityaḥ sthūlākāra-syaiva jñānaśyānubhūyamānatvāt.—T. S. P., p. 551.

if consciousness may arise in some cases where actually there is no object, there is no harm in admitting that it may take its shape in all cases without the help of any external object.

The forms which are in reality internal, owing to the maturation of *vāsanās*, appear in the *Vijñāna* as objects.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, he says that this world which is similar to a dream or mirage in character, derives its existence from the imagination which has for its support the appearance of the *Vijñāna*. He does not feel the necessity of admitting the existence of an external world. He cites the instance of a man who has some defects in his eye and of another who is suffering from jaundice, and points out that just as those men take a wrong view of the objects before them, in the same manner, all of us make a mistake in supposing that there is an external world. Besides, we cannot prove the existence of external objects by perception.<sup>2</sup> "The *Vijñāna* of perception must have for instance, a black form, because otherwise black objects cannot be reflected on it. If the form of *Vijñāna* is black and there is something else as a black object then there will be two cognitions of black which is absurd."<sup>3</sup> So he concludes that *Vijñāna* only exists and manifests itself in the form of the world of experience.

*Avidyā* is the cause of the origin of this world. By *Avidyā*, *Kamalaśīla*, the commentator of the *Tattva-samgraha*, understands "the tendency of the mind surcharged with the conforma-

<sup>1</sup> *Abahistattvarūpāni vāsanāparipākataḥ  
Vijñāne pratibhāsante svapnādēviva nānyataḥ.*

T. S., p. 538.

<sup>2</sup> *Tathāhi pratyakṣato bāhyārthesiddhiḥ syādanumānato vā, anyasya premāṇasya sato'traivāntarbhāvāt. Tatra na tāvat pratyakṣataḥ, tathāhi-pratyakṣābhimatena jñānena nirākāreṇa vārthaśya grahaṇādī syātīti sākāreṇa vā. Na tāvannirākāreṇa, pratyāsattini-bandhanābhāvāt. Dhiyo'sitādirūpatve sati sū dhi stasyārthasānubhavaḥ katham bhavet, naiva bhavedīti prāguktaṃ. Atha sākāreṇa tathā nilādhyākārasyaivaikaśya jñānagata-syopalambhād bāhyārthaḥ parokṣa eva bhavenna pratyakṣaḥ. Na hi dve nīle kadācit samvedyete, ekam jñānapratibimbakamaparam tadarpakamityevam tāvanna pratyakṣataḥ siddhiḥ. —Tattvasamgraha-pañjikā, p. 574.*

<sup>3</sup> *Iatt. to the T. S.*

tion of previous births." So this world is made up of the *vāsanās* only. The world of experience is only a reflection that appears before us and by the use of words, we refer to these false appearances. When by constant meditation of the voidness of all objects, all the *vāsanās* will be suppressed, *Vijñāna* will become pure and there will be no more possibility of any seed being deposited in it and the world of experience with its subject-objects distinctions will vanish like a bad dream. This state of the *Vijñāna* in its absolute purity is known as *Nirvāṇa* or emancipation.

RAKESRANJAN SARMA

### TO FAITH

Love me not, love me not, Faith,  
 For I have been since long, long dead.  
 Do love me, do love, Faith,  
 Only in thee let my corpse be laid.  
 Love me not, love me not, Faith,  
 For if thou lovest me I want to live.  
 Do love me, do love me, Faith,  
 Only for thee, I might hope to revive.  
 Love me not, love me not, Faith,  
 For I fear if I live, thou mayst die.  
 Do love me, do love me, Faith,  
 Only with thee, let me live or lie.

CHI-HWANG CHU

## IF I COULD HAVE MY WISH

If I could have my wish...  
I would not ask for gold nor even gems ;  
But I should like to be one of the group  
Of nine and twenty pilgrims riding forth  
With Harry Bailey, host of Tabard Inn ;  
And, on that gray and April dawn when I  
Would be asleep in Southwark's cosy Inn,  
Old Harry would come striding forth to knock  
At every door. But no doubt he would have  
To punch and pound on mine, as he did on  
The Wife of Bath's. He beat and banged upon  
The panel of her door with the handle of  
His whip ; but even then he had to rap  
Some more. He did not have to tap so hard  
To rouse the Prioress and her nun ; but, when  
He reached the little room where those three men  
Snored side by side, he kicked with force upon  
Their oaken door : for gentle taps were not  
Enough to wake up the upholsterer  
Who slept beside the weaver and the dyer.  
Old Harry knew his people well : some were  
Awakened easily, while others seemed  
To have no ears at all. But soon the guests  
Of that old Inn were in the court below ;  
If I could have my wish, I, too, would be  
Among that charming, happy group. Their garb  
Was gay, and no two dressed alike. But, more  
Than their unique costumes, I would have liked  
Their varied personalities ; and I  
Would ride along and chat with them. The sun,  
A scarlet disc, would flash its early rays  
Against the windows ; and the villagers,  
Still sleepy-eyed, would watch to see the crowd

Of nine and twenty pilgrims ride away  
Upon their frisking mounts. The bagpipes and  
The larks would make some music good enough  
For kings. Indeed, I would not ask for wealth,  
But I should want to splash and jingle down  
Old Southwark Lane that gray and misty dawn—  
If I could have my wish.....

LOUISE A. NELSON

## ASIATIC AND INTER-PROVINCIAL TRADE OF BENGAL IN THE MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

"Bengal from the mildness of its climate, the fertility of its soil, and the natural history of the Hindoos,

(1) Asiatic. was always remarkable for its commerce."<sup>1</sup>

She carried on a vigorous trade with the other Asiatic countries beyond the continent, and according to Dow, during the first half of the 18th century, "the balance of trade was against all nations in favour of Bengal; and it was the sink where gold and silver disappeared without the least prospect of return."<sup>2</sup> The exports of Bengal to the gulfs of Persia and Arabia were very great and she supplied Arabia, Persia, Turkey, Georgia, Armenia and 'the lesser Asia' with her manufactures and brought home annually coffers of gold.<sup>3</sup> She had also a flourishing trade with the Eastern Kingdoms of Asia, the Malayan and Philippine islands.<sup>4</sup> At least down to the year 1756 "the coasts of Coramondel and Malabar, the gulf of Persia and Red Sea, nay even Manilla, China and coast of Africa were obliged to Bengal for taking off their cotton,<sup>5</sup> pepper, drugs, fruits, chank, cowries, tin, etc., as on the other hand they were supplied from Bengal with what they could not well be without, such as raw silk and

<sup>1</sup> Dow's Hindoostan, Vol. I, ciii.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, cii.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. "Its manufactures found their way to the remotest part of Hindostan and specie flowed in by thousand channels that are at present lost (1767) and obstructed. All the European companies formed their investments with money brought into the country; the Gulphs (*The two Gulphs of Mocha and Persia*) poured in their treasures into this river (*Ganges*), and across the continent, and inland trade was driven to the westward to the extremity of the Kingdom of Guzzarat":—Letter from the Select Committee to the Honourable the Court of Directors, etc., dated Fort William, 26 Sept., 1767; *vide* Verelet's View of Bengal, Appendix, p. 89.

<sup>4</sup> Dow's Hindoostan, Vol. I, cii.

<sup>5</sup> It is important to note that Bengal had thus to import cotton from outside. Thus the native production of cotton (Bennel's Journals) was not sufficient for her extensive manufacture.

its various manufactures, opium, vast quantities of cotton cloth, rice, ginger, turmeric, long pepper, etc., and all sorts of gruff goods."<sup>1</sup> Sugar was also one of the most important commodities of trade between Bengal and these different countries. Thus almost every year bodies of merchants from the different parts of Asia poured into Bengal, while Bengal also sent her products and manufactures to them.<sup>2</sup>

But a variety of political circumstances, affecting seriously the destinies and internal conditions of those different states, gradually checked the progress of this vigorous commerce. Dow has summarised the situation in the following few lines :—

“ Persia, about 30 years ago a great and flourishing empire, has been torn to pieces and almost depopulated by the cruelties of Nadir Shaw; and, since his assassination (1747 A.D.), by unremitting civil wars. The few inhabitants who escaped the rage of the sword sit down in the midst of poverty. Georgia and Armenia who shared in the troubles of Persia, share also her untoward fate. Indigence has shut up the doors of commerce; vanity has disappeared with wealth and men content themselves with the coarse manufacture of their native countries. The Turkish empire has long declined on its southern and eastern frontiers. Egypt rebelled: Babylonia, under its Basha, revolted. The distracted state of the former has almost shut up the trade by caravans, from Suez to Cairo; from the latter of which, the manufactures of Bengal were conveyed by sea to all the ports of the Ottoman dominions. The rapacity of the Basha of Bagdad, which is increased by the necessity of keeping a great standing force to support his usurpation, has environed with terror the

<sup>1</sup> Causes of the loss of Calcutta by David Rennie, Hill's Bengal in 1755-1757, Vol. III, p. 390.

<sup>2</sup> ‘ Accordingly,’ as Mr. Scrafton has expressed it, ‘ till of late years inconceivable numbers of merchants from all parts of Asia in general as well as from the rest of Hindustan in particular, sometimes in bodies of many thousands at a time, used annually to resort to Bengal with little else than ready money, or bills to purchase the produce of those provinces.’—Bolton's Considerations on Indian Affairs, p. 21.



walls of Bussora, which circumstance has almost annihilated its commerce with Syria.....Trade is in a manner unknown; the merchants of Bussorah are ruined; and there were, last year, in the warehouses of that city, of the manufactures of Bengal, to the value of two hundred thousand pounds, which could not be sold for half the prime cost."<sup>1</sup> The trade of Bengal with the Kingdom and islands of eastern Asia was also on the decline, if it had not come to a standstill. The political crises and upheavals in Bengal had also some share in causing this decrease of her Asiatic commerce. No sooner had the storms of the Mahratta invasions blown over her and the tactful Nawab Ali Vardi had closed his eyes for ever, than she heard again the thundering of the cannon at Tanna's Fort, at Budgebudge, in Calcutta and on the fields of Plassey. The victory of the English at Plassey brought her face to face with the difficult problem of adjusting herself to new circumstances, while it increased the prestige and power of the foreign trading company to a considerable degree. Both at home and abroad her commerce came to be entirely transferred into the hands of the company's people.

In 1758 some of the 'free merchants' in Calcutta sent a petition to Robert Clive, putting forth their grievances with regard to the trade in the Persian Gulf. This trade was on the downward path,<sup>2</sup> which was due, as they argued, to the heavy imposition of port duties at Surat and Bussorah. In 1755 a ship had sold at Surat to the amount of Rs. 54,481 upon which

<sup>1</sup> Dow's Hindoostan, Vol. I, pp. cxiv-cxvi.

<sup>2</sup> Petition of David Rennie, Edward Hardwick and others to Robert Clive, dated Calcutta, December 28th, 1758. *Vide* Long, No. 405, pp. 169-178.

<sup>3</sup> "Within these twenty years there has been from this port eight to ten sail of ships to Surat and three, four or five to Bussorah in one season (though the French at that time were trading largely to these ports as well as we) and for the first three years of Mr. Wake's Government at Bombay we are well informed that his Surat consulage of 2 per cent. amounted from thirty-eight to forty-three thousand Bombay rupees annually, whereas Mr. Bourquier does not now receive ten. One to two ships with a small stock filled up with Moor's freights being all that now goes to Surat and of ships that go into the gulf of Persia few make any sales at Gambroon or Bussorah." *Ibid*,

the charges of merchandise (exclusive of commission and the ship's charges for ballast, water, etc.) were Rs. 6,390 which was nearly 12 per cent. of the produce ; Rs. 34,859 was invested upon which the export charge was Rs. 3,699 which was above 10 p.c. In 1754 some piece goods were sent in a boat from Bushire to Bussorah ; they were sold for 95,736 ' Mamoodys ' upon which the charges of merchandise were 9,352 Mamoodys or  $9\frac{3}{4}$  per cent., and this exclusive of commission ; " but had the goods been gruff or had the ship gone to Bussorah, the charges would have been greatly increased by the Bussorah's present house rent, etc., expenses, pilotage, etc." The British traders were not thus able to stand in competition with the French or the Dutch, as the latter had not to pay such duties by 3 or 4 per cent. at Surat or 3 p.c. at Bussorah but had only to pay 3 p.c. to the Turks. Especially the Dutch traders had great advantages over the English traders. The Dutch had settled and made a free port of the Island of Carrack (about 30 leagues from Bussorah River) where the charges of merchandise were lower and moreover, though they paid customs to the Turks, yet by " lumping with the country Government they scarcely payed 2 p.c. on imports, and as much upon exports, the whole about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to 4 p.c." The English traders, on the other hand, paid  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. export duty on rice, 2 per cent. on all other goods and 1 per cent. upon all imports in all about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  or  $3\frac{3}{4}$  p.c.; the difference of  $\frac{1}{4}$  or  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. that the Dutch paid more than the English was " a trifle when compared to the great advantages they reap by their trade from Batavia in the valuable articles of sugar, arrack, timber, rattans, pepper, etc., which we have not, at least not as they purchase them." Having all those arguments in their favour, the petitioners prayed that the following regulations might be passed, *viz.*, " that to trade to every Port in India where owners may choose to send their ships be free to all English vessels; that no further restraints nor duties be laid on trade anywhere in India, on the contrary that duties be considerably lessened at Bombay, Surat

and Bussorah for reasons already mentioned; also that the 3 p.c. advance duty on Malabar pepper be taken off at Surat because the Hon'ble Company get not a grain of pepper more by it at Tellicherry, and it only prevents an Englishman from trading in an article that every Banyan trades in; that proper encouragement may be given to retrieve the valuable manufacture of sugar, unaccountably lost in this place (which by causing a great export of rice, enhances the price of labour and consequently of all other gruff piece-goods and raw silk), particularly that no export nor import duties be levied upon Bengal sugar at any English settlement for.....years. That due encouragement be given for to manufacture sugar, arrack, etc., at Bengal for that place may soon be brought to rival Batavia and greatly increase trade. And lastly, that the following orders obtained from the Hon'ble Company many years ago (and since turned to the ruin of trade) be revoked, *viz.*, the order that no person without permission from the President shall remain in the rainy season at Surat nor at any subordinate factory in India, except the Hon'ble Company's servants belonging to the Presidency under whose direction the subordinate is. The order for all captains and supercargos at Gambron to reside in the Factory and sell their goods in presence of the chief. The order made lately at Bombay for no Englishman at Bussorah, etc., to apply to the country Government for recovery of debits, etc., but through the President." <sup>1</sup>

We do not know whether these regulations were ever passed, but gradually the British East India Company established its exclusive right of exportation of piece goods to the markets of Bussorah, Jidda, and Mocha. For the disposal of the goods of this joint concern, the Governor and Council of Calcutta fitted out ships generally known by the name of the 'freightships' on which the goods were first shipped, and the remainder of the tonnage was filled up on freight. All these affairs were managed

by a Member of the Council, who was "acting owner" and kept a warehouse for this purpose generally known in Calcutta by the name of freight warehouse. Bolts has described the anomalies and abuses that this practice produced in the following language :—"Frequent instances have been known of the goods of private merchants, even Europeans, but particularly of those belonging to Armenians, Moguls, Gentoos, being in consequence of this monopoly, stopped on the public road, and by force carried to the freight warehouse and the proprietors of such goods have been obliged contrary to their wills to see their goods shipped on vessels they had not a good opinion of, and going on voyages whose destination and management were often contrary to their own private schemes of trade; in consequence of which unwarrantable proceedings, those merchants have frequently lost their sales, have had their goods damaged, ..... and have sometimes lost even the goods themselves." <sup>1</sup> It is very difficult to say whether Bolts describes the actual state of things or merely gives vent to his vindictive and propaganda spirit. But this much can be accepted as certain that gradually the Asiatic trade of Bengal passed exclusively into the hands of the Company.

The different parts of India were commercially connected with one another from very remote times, and about  
 (2) Inter-provincial. the middle of the 18th Century, the commercial relations of Bengal with the other provinces were as active and vigorous as before. "A variety of merchants of different nations and religions, such as Cashmerians, Multayns (Multani=people of Multan), Patans (Pathans) Sheikks,<sup>2</sup> Suniassys,<sup>3</sup> Poggyahs

<sup>1</sup> Considerations, pp. 195-197.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps it refers to the Moslems of Arabia settling in India. Gradually the use of the term became more and more general and it came to be used also for Moslems coming to India from other countries besides Arabia.

<sup>3</sup> These refers to the Sanāsi (mendicant) traders, coming down in batches from Himalayan region, with finer forest products, such as pieces of sandal and aloes wood, rudrākṣa beads, etc.

(?), Bettceas(?) and many others used to resort to Bengal annually in caseelahs,<sup>1</sup> or large parties of many thousands together (with troops of oxen) for the transport of goods from different parts of Hindustan,.....''<sup>2</sup> For many years it had been customary for the merchants of Kasmir to advance money at Sunderbund and provide molunghes to work the saltpans there.<sup>3</sup> Similarly the merchants from Bengal visited the different parts of upper Hindustan, Assam, Cachar, Malabar and the Coramondel coasts<sup>4</sup> and Gujrat. This has found expression in the pages of contemporary Literature in the following manner :—"Being a Vaiṣya, he maintains his family by carrying on a trade throughout the different parts of the world, such as Hastinā (Delhi), Karṇāt (Arcot), Vaṅga (Bengal), Kaliṅga, Gurjara (Gujrat), Bārāṇasī, Mahārāṣṭra, Kashmir, Panchal (Rohil-khand), Kamboja (Tibet),<sup>5</sup> Bhoja (Shahabad), Magadha, Jayanti (?), Drāviḍa (Southern India), Nepal, Kanchi (Conjeeveram), Ajodhya (Oudh), Avanti (Malwa), Mathura, Kāmpilya (Farukkabad District), Māyāpurī (Haridwar), Dvārāvati (Dvārakā, Kathiawad), Chin (China), Mahāchin (Mangolia), Kamrupa (Assam).''<sup>6</sup> There is another passage in a piece called 'Candrakānta' which tells us clearly that merchants from Birbhum and Mallabhum (Bankura) carried on a trade with Gujrat, and exchanged their own articles with those of that place.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A kind of boat.

<sup>2</sup> Bolts' Considerations, p. 200.

<sup>3</sup> A letter from Mir Casim to Vansittart, Original Papers, etc., Vol. I, pp. 229-231; Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. II, p. 167.

<sup>4</sup> Dow's Hindustan, Vol. I, p. ciii.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Kashmiri and Armenian merchants carried on a trade between Bengal and Nepal and even went further up to Tibet.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. "It is said that at the time, Gurgin Khan, having heard from the Kashmiris and the Armenians, who were in trade with Lasa, about the wealth of Nepal persuaded Mir Kasim to send an expedition to Nepal." Khulāṣat-ut-tawarikh, 106. (Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna.)

<sup>8</sup> Jayarāyana's Harinā, vide Typical Selections from Old Bengali Literature, Part II, p. 1493.

<sup>9</sup> 'My name is Candrakānta Rāy, and I am a Gandhavaṇik by caste and an

The manufactures of Bengal found their way into the remotest parts of Hindustan, and "the low price at which salt could be conveyed through all the branches of the Ganges, rendered it an advantageous article of trade in the inland parts of Hindoostan. Great quantities were sent to Benares and Mirzapur from the markets of which the province of Oudh and Allahabad, the territories of the Raja of Bundela and of all the petty princes of the Kingdom of Malwa, were supplied."<sup>1</sup> Vessels laden with betel-nut, tobacco, salt<sup>2</sup> and manufactured goods went to Assam through the Brahmaputra and the Meghna, and they brought in exchange silk, lac, mugga dhuties, ivory, timber.<sup>3</sup> The traders of Bengal brought aloe wood and elephant's tusks from Cachar<sup>4</sup> and fir timber from Nepal.<sup>5</sup> Merchants were used to send iron, stoneware, rice, and other things from Balasore to Calcutta and they brought tobacco and other things from Calcutta to Balasore.<sup>6</sup> Holwell has mentioned

inhabitant of Mallabhum. Leaving my country I have come here with seven boats, filled with articles of exchange. I want to exchange my own commodities (with those of this place), and I can stay here if you can provide me with those.' The king replied—'You will get as much as you want in exchange, if you stay here with me.' Typical Selections, etc., Part II, pp. 1408-1412; *Baṅgabhāṣā O Śāhitya*, pp. 662-663.

<sup>1</sup> Dow's *Hindustan*, Vol. I, pp. cxix-cxx.

- A letter from Mir Kasim to Vansittart,—Vansittart's *Narrative*, Vol. I, pp. 164-168.

Vereleest makes the following note on the higher prices of salt in the interior of North Bengal and Assam at Gwalpara, Rangpur and Chilmaly:—"At Gwalpara the price of salt, after the establishment of the society (1765) was 400 Arcot rupees per hundred Assam maunds, which is full l'd. 16-64 per lb. In the Rangpur and Chilmaly districts, the price was 250 Arcot rupees per 100 chilmaly maunds, which is 0 d. 53-54 per lb. These were also the average prices for many years before the establishment of the society; but then they were the prices at which salt used to be engrossed by the rich, who sold it again at a considerable profit to the poor. These particulars I have from Mr. Baillie, who was agent for the society in the districts of Gwalpara, Rangpur, and Chilmaly." A view of Bengal, pp. 116-117 (footnote).

<sup>2</sup> Copy of letter from the Chief and Council of Dacca to the Board, dated January 10, 1753, Vansittart's *Narrative*, Vol. II, p. 221; Dow's *Hindustan*, Vol. I, p. cxv.

<sup>3</sup> Proceedings, June 17, 1763 A.D.

<sup>4</sup> Proceedings, November 1, 1762.

<sup>5</sup> Letter from Natful Neheman, Thanadar of Balasore, January, 1751. *Vide Long*,

Balasore stone dishes and cups in the list of articles on which duties were levied in the Calcutta market.<sup>1</sup>

But various causes gradually contributed to bring about a decrease of this inter-provincial trade of Bengal by the native traders. One of these lay on the gradual overshadowing of the Imperial authority by the rise of independent provincial governors, who framed distinct transit and custom laws in their respective states to the great disadvantage of the traders. So long as the Mogul Empire was an organised and united whole, the merchants from one part of it could travel with safety to another and were not severely pressed with heavy Chowkey exactions<sup>2</sup> while passing through the different provinces; but "the number of independent kingdoms which have started up from the ruins of the Mogul Empire, has almost destroyed the inland commerce of Bengal with the upper parts of Hindustan. Every prince levies heavy duties upon all goods that pass through the dominions. The merchants who formerly came down towards the mouths of the Ganges to purchase commodities have discontinued a trade, not only ruined by imposts, but even unsafe from banditti. The province of Oudh and Assam are the only inland countries with which Bengal drives, at present any trade."<sup>3</sup> In the course of a few years, Bengal's Indian trade also passed into the hands of the East India Company's agents who had power and means, sufficient for combating with these disadvantages, and their behaviour totally closed<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Indian Tracts.

<sup>2</sup> Consultations, Feb. 5, 1753 A.D. Consultations, May 30, 1751 A.D.

<sup>3</sup> Dow's Hindustan, Vol. I, p. cxv.

<sup>4</sup> (a) "Then the trade, in such commodities as were produced and sold in the country, was entirely confined to the natives. They were either farmed out, where they were considerable enough to make an article, in the public revenues or circulated through the province by the poorer sort of people, to whom, whilst they afforded a subsistence, they at the same time added to the income of the state by the duties gathered upon them." Hastings' opinion in the consultation of 1st March, 1763—Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. II, p. 347.

(b) "Merchants have been strictly prohibited from sending gomasthas into the interior country to purchase and provide any goods, without a perwānah from the Governor of

the doors of that commerce for the common traders of the country.

### KALI KINKAR DATTA

Calcutta. Without this perwanah, it would be in vain to attempt to purchase, notwithstanding a merchant should pay double what is called the Government dues; though in fact such perwanah when obtained, would in general be of no service to the country merchant, without some special private protection, as the bonds called hitchulcas, already explained, are in general taken by the company's Gomasthas, from the weavers and Dalals throughout the whole country." Bolts' Considerations, p. 197.

(c) "In the pergunahs of Cuddy-burly and Caloo-banboo-para, and my other jaheer lands, under the jurisdiction of Assam the revenues formerly amounted to forty thousand rupees, arising from the trade of salt, large timbers, and several other articles. The Government's people used to carry on the commerce there, and no other merchants were permitted to traffick with the mountaineers. Two years ago Mr. Chevalier went there and he has put an entire stop to the trade of the Sircar, and himself traffics with the mountaineers, from whence a loss arises to my revenues; and he forcibly seizes the taleokdars and raiats of the aforesaid pergunahs, to make them draw timbers by which means they are brought to the last distress." Letter from Mir Kasim to Vansittart, Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. II, pp. 164-168.



## THE ARTIST SUPREME

The artist in his besmirched smock  
 Radiant as a scarlet tiger-moth!—  
 Paints on canvas the warmth of summer  
 The clear blue sky, turquoise blue,  
 The laughing daffodils and quiet daisies, and  
 The happy marigolds that girt the lane.  
 He reproduces Nature's beauty with paint and brush  
 The smock-frocked artist completes his work  
 And lo! human praise is deep and genuine.  
 He won a niche in the hall of fame!  
 Yet there be but one Artist, true and supreme!  
 In His heavenly studio He produces each year  
 The seasons of Spring, Summer, Winter and Fall  
 All human efforts are stencils of His great slate  
 Reproductions they are, as the Passion Play of  
 Oberammergau!

A writer of verse, paused to catch a thought  
 A beautiful thought that flitted through his mind  
 It came back to him in his pensive mood  
 He wrote it down on paper, dispatching it to the world  
 A feverish world of mixed emotions.  
 A world that needed its thought directed  
 Through an aisle of warm flower-deck'd words.  
 The writer's book was published and read in every land.  
 It was held between soft, shell-pink hands;  
 Held in rough brawny hands;  
 It rested between sheets on dreary hospital beds—  
 To be picked up and read when strength came back again.  
 It laid on warm laps, gently petted by soft finger tips—  
 As a silver beach is fondled by the gliding lake waves;  
 Waves that come to woo the beach on a quiet summer day.  
 The world acclaimed the Writer for the Child of his brain!

Yet there be but one Poet one God of the Muse  
 All Divine, yet human as man  
 He gave to the world the nine liberal arts  
 And each Thinker is dividing his gift from God.  
 Sharing it with his less fortunate fellowman.

HENRY V. JALASS

JUVENILE OFFENDERS IN CALCUTTA.<sup>1</sup>

Juvenile offenders are Law-breakers, of either sex, under 16 or in some cases under 14 years of age. Minor girls, rescued by law, from undesirable conditions of life are outside that class. The related law is ameliorative and not punitive. It originated with the Bengal Children Act in 1922 which with its sister, the Calcutta Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act, touches the high-water mark of like legislation in any country. They are likely to find a place in the front rank at Geneva. But minor girls, receiving the benefit of good guardianship legally provided, are not offenders and therefore left out of present consideration.

It is to be remembered that legislation for the benefit of juvenile delinquents, born in America, has travelled Eastward. The idea was first imported into England with great success by the celebrated English actress, Miss Olga Nethersole. And Juvenile Courts, at least in name, now exist in Bombay and Calcutta. But judgment is invited on the question, whether the law, like the witches in Macbeth, "keep the word of promise to the ear and break it to the hope." It must not be forgotten that the idea budded and blossomed in a woman's heart and it will be presently found where, in this country, its fragrance is preserved.

At the outset it has to be observed that Juvenile Court as an independent juridical institution, does not exist in Calcutta. It is only a Court where Presidency Magistrates under the direction of the Chief or Police Magistrates of Sealdah sit in undress without the usual formalities of a criminal Court. The idea of its ameliorative character has not yet penetrated the mind of the criminal bar. In the trial of cases concerning a minor girl's right to the benefit of legal good guardianship, the

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted from "The Chaka" of the 8th June, 1929.

argument is often heard that like an accused in a criminal case she is entitled to the benefit of doubt for her discharge not from legal punishment but from good guardianship which the law provided.

Let the above serve as an introduction to the consideration of the principal classes of juvenile offenders and the agency, official and voluntary, for their well-being. Girl offenders must necessarily claim precedence in treatment.

Two cases stick to memory. A Mussalman girl was charged with indecent behaviour in a public place. The poor child used to lead about an aged blind beggar and was maintained out of the alms he received. When she confessed her offence the Magistrate himself was put on his trial. What was to be done with her in the absence of an Industrial or Reformatory school for girls? A messenger of hope was found in the Society for the Protection of Children in India. That Society came forward to take charge of her and placed her in an orphanage. No clear idea can be formed of her fate, when not long afterwards she was discharged from the orphanage.

The other case was somewhat strange. A Hindu girl, without friend or relation, was found on the street and a Hindu gentleman of North Calcutta took her into his family. In a little while she disappeared with some trinkets not her own. Found again on the street she received the same treatment at another's hand. Before long her second benefactor identified her as well as the trinkets kept secret by her with the description in an advertisement inserted by her former benefactor in a Bengali newspaper. Eventually she found her way to the so-called Juvenile Court and was taken charge of by the Society named. After many escapes and adventures she finally found her place in the Salvation Army Home for Criminal Tribes in the U. P. and has not been seen or heard of from the time of her disappearance from that Home.

The absence of legal provision for girl offenders is obviously to be attributed to their limited number—but it is to be doubted

whether the limited number is not due to the absence of provision for their suitable custody.

Boy offenders are very rarely Bengali Hindus, but mostly natives of Orissa or the U. P. leading to the probable conclusion that they are imported into Calcutta by designed persons. The largest number of them are beggars. The provision for their suitable custody is to be found in Section 27 of the Bengal Children Act which, but for an unrelated bit, is not in operation. In the House of Detention they get on an average two full meals—or more, if arrested on a Saturday. But the intelligent ones amongst them, get the knowledge that a thief can claim the benefit of the Reformatory or Industrial school which, however, is denied to a beggar. A beggar boy, armed with such knowledge, committed a theft and reported himself to the Police. This is the only benefit open to his class who as a rule on admission of their offence are simply warned and discharged, which does not in the least degree interfere with their constant reappearance in Court.

The next large class are road-obstructing hawker boys. There is very little doubt that they are in the employ of adults who remain in the background and pay fines for the boy offenders as a sort of license fee for their own trade.

The next in numerical strength are boys and girls who remove, without license, coal from the Kidderpore docks either for sale or for home consumption. Fines are invariably paid for them by their relatives or employers.

Is it unreasonable to think that if proper steps were taken to bring to justice the Count Alvas who fight the law from behind the barricade of juvenile offenders of different classes some good will come to the juvenile instruments of crime?

Juvenile offenders, under the general criminal law, appear also to be under the guidance of interested adults. A juvenile thief brought before the Court appeared to be of unsound mind and was placed under medical observation. After a fortnight the medical report came in, to the effect that the boy was not

insane but addicted to the cocaine habit of which he appeared to have been freed during the period of his detention. The boy related his story.—He was decoyed from his native village in Bihar by a fellow villager who was settled in Calcutta, under promise of luxurious living, away from home control. In Calcutta he was taken about in carriages and given delicacies of food, unknown to village life. At the same time small doses of cocaine were given to him until the habit was strongly formed. Then his daily dose was withheld unless and until some stolen property was brought in. Unsuccessful attempts were made to trace the parents of this boy and so he was sent to the Reformatory but his guide and friend remained unknown and unscathed.

Instances are not rare of fathers bringing false cases of theft against their sons under tyrannical pressure from step-mothers of the accused. In one case the boy's own mother produced in Court the very article that her son was accused of stealing. A similar case was recently closed by the transfer of the boy's guardianship to the Society for the Protection of Children in India with an undertaking on the part of the father to pay a fixed monthly sum for his son's maintenance and education, the juvenile accused being discharged in the absence of evidence against him. Another case was of a step-father. A Hindu widow with her son aged about 12 years became a Musalman and she took to herself a Muslim husband. The step-father of the boy put him to school and paid his schooling fee but no one took any trouble to see whether he at all attended school or what company he kept. He tried to steal the purse of a sleeping cook by cutting the string with the fragment of a broken soda water bottle. He was arrested and put up for trial, when the whole story came to light. To the credit of his step-father, the Court could make proper arrangements for his future.

At the present time there are two boys in the Reformatory school who belong to families of good position socially and financially. They committed thefts for pleasure and not for

profit. One of them used to be persistent in soliciting others to accept property, stolen by him, as gifts from himself.

In February 1924, Mrs. Kar, a Bengali Christian lady, at a Magistrate's personal request and without any official recognition, began visiting and talking to the boys in the House of Detention. An incident of her work of love seems worthy of record. In convincing a juvenile thief of the evil nature of his conduct, tears came to her eyes and the boy, with sobs, embraced her feet declaring that had he known his act would give pain to any one other than the person whose property he had stolen, he would never have done what he had done.

Mrs. Kar's stay in Calcutta was short. Since her departure and until last year when Miss Cornelia Sorabji and her associates openly and regularly took up the work, the juvenile delinquent was devoid of unofficial care and love. At the present time, they are objects of the sympathetic care of the Presidency Council of Women. Mrs. Flowerdew is on the Board of Management of the House of Detention and four Indian ladies, along with her, are working as Honorary Probation Officers.

For the beggar boys something like a Street Boy's Club is being started, near the Municipal Market. Its success must be sincerely hoped for.

To conclude with a question. Will not the knowledge of suffering induce the hand of relief to stretch out—each according to its capacity?

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJEE

## REFLECTIONS OF A WAYFARER

اشک چو پرده میدرد خلرتیان را ز را  
بدل فرز خورم ناله جان کداز را

*Shahi*

*1st January, 1930.*—I sit down this morning to put a few of my thoughts on paper, but I do so with a feeling, never experienced before. In the past the last day of the departing year invariably struck a sad, pensive vein in me and the first of the new generally filled me with uneasy forebodings and misgivings. But not so to-day. Effort is stilled. Resignation is triumphant. I expect nothing. I fear nothing. I find fault with nothing. I have accepted the comforting philosophy of Shahi :

درین صحیفه نخواندم خط خطا ز انور  
که هرچه می نگرم نقش کارخانه است

and the self-annihilating wisdom of Rasikh :

امیری کیسی کیا ه مرتبه شاهی رزبری کا  
تو ای غافل شناسای مدارج هر نقیری کا

Death itself will be welcome and the grave will, perhaps, be a pleasing shelter to the world-weary mind and soul. I have realised, as never before, that life is a growing renunciation and that its unhappy march is marked by so many milestones of deaths, sorrows, disenchantments. Our hopes wilt and wither : our schemes totter and fall ; our foresight is but a mockery : our free-will a mere piece of unreflecting optimism :

اتهام اختیاری نیز بر من کرده اند  
در حقیقت درد رگوبی اختیارم کده اند

At the end of the day when we seriously survey the past—to our amazement we find that what is, is *not* what we had expected or planned and that the reality is wholly unlike the dream we had so fondly nursed and so fervently sought to fulfil. Plans miscarried ; ideals shattered ; love betrayed ; hopes that once stirred our languid pulses, dead or dying ; those dear ones, from whom we could not be parted even for a day, without a pang and a wrench, taken for ever from our fond embrace ; coldness, neglect, unkindness ; malfeasance or misfeasance—ah, who is really happy, tell me who, in this vale of tears ?

Of late, I have become a fond frequenter of the graveyards. Possibly Mir Taqi is responsible for this extraordinary passion :

مسجد میں تو شیخ کو خروشان دیکھا  
میخانہ میں جوش بادہ نرشان دیکھا  
اک گوشہ عافیت جہان میں اے میر  
دیکھا تو محلہ خمروشان دیکھا

There with the great Mir I find that divine stillness and sweet solace which I seek but in vain elsewhere. Those haunts of the dead irresistibly draw me and, when there, they hold me captive. Free from earthly cares, immune from physical disabilities, scornful of the petty interests which entangle the living—they have done with fierce midnights and famishing morrows. An unbroken sleep is theirs, and but for some stray visitor who comes to mourn or to bless the turf that wraps their clay—no footfall even disturbs their perfect repose. The sky, illumined by the Sun or bespangled by the stars, is their canopy ; the rustling leaves, their music ; the soft breeze, their confidant ; lilies and roses, their companions. For us, indeed, every grave is a sermon on the vanity of human wishes :

کہاں کچھ لالہ رگل میں نمایاں ہو گئیں  
خاک میں کیا صورتیں ہو گئی کہ پلہاں ہو گئیں



Has not Pascal said : However well the play may have passed off, the last act is always tragic ? A handful of dust ! And there is the end of man. (I quote from memory.) And one of our own poets has expressed the same idea in language of unsurpassed excellence :

گر پر حسرت یہ کہتی ہے امیر  
اے تے دنیا میں اس دن کے لئے

And among the numerous graves, there is one which irresistibly attracts and enchains me. It occupies a lovely spot, lovelier I have not seen. Encircled by emerald fringe, adorned by smiling flowers, shaded by fruit-laden trees, separate and apart from the rest—it struck me as the resting-place of some adored-one, the very incarnation of poetry and romance. Here I fondly linger—musing over the uncertainty of life and the nothingness of human achievements. The graves mostly bear some inscription or other. Some commemorate love for the departed ; some recall his virtue or excellence ; some again tenderly refer to the grief of those left behind and yet others contain commonplace effusions of conventional sorrow. But in them all the classical scholar misses those finer graces of thought and language which mark the Greek and, in a lesser degree, the Roman epitaphs.

But here on this grave, there was an inscription, conspicuous by its artistic taste and elegance. On a finely chiselled marble, in a superbly perfect calligraphy, I found the following memorial :

مرا عہد یست با جانان کہ تا جان در بدن دارم  
ہوا داری کویش را چو جان خویشتن دارم

“ Pure and undefiled before God and man—here lies the mortal remains of one who, never once, during thirty-one years of closest partnership, ever wavered in love or loyalty. No floral

tribute but tears of a broken heart I bring to thee. Though hidden, alas, from view—thou art ever in my thought, never absent from my mind's eye."

محرمي کو تا برد از ما سلامي نزد يار  
يا پيامي سوي ما از جانب يار آرد

This inscription, so simple, and yet so forcible, so unadorned and yet so effective, manifestly the token of a broken heart, set me enquiring: Whose grave was it? Who, the author of that inscription? Even in this hurrying, matter-of-fact world, romance apparently has not ceased—only, it seems, we have ceased to look for them. Truth, Beauty, Constancy, Love, everything, indeed, that lifts the soul and sustains the heart in its daily travail, exists, to be sure, but no longer in the open but in hiding places, away from the gaze or the intrusion of 'profanum vulgus.' We, moderns, are getting too self-centered. The self has overshadowed all and the pure commercial point of view has decidedly gained the upper hand. Self-interest and utility are the shibboleths of our time. Even Religion and Politics have not escaped their contaminating touch; for what are they to-day but mere cloaks for personal aggrandisement? Neither God nor the Country now claims or commands a sincere faith or an unalloyed attachment:

در لباس شيخ زاهد در حرم ره مي‌زند  
من درين ميخانه بدنامم که ساغر مي‌زنم

To proceed—the grave, whose inscription I have just quoted, was, indeed, the shrine of a life-long love, tested by the vicissitudes of time and fate. I was right in my surmise. It was the grave of one who, for thirty-one long years, had borne the burden of conjugal partnership without an accent of complaint or an indication of impatience. They were first cousins, the

departed and the living, and the marriage between them was, as is usually the case with us, an arranged one. Their parents had sealed the partnership and their discerning judgment was ratified by the mutual love and devotion of the contracting parties. Years rolled on linking them closer and yet closer together. The one thought that never entered into their calculation was the thought of death ; for does not love scoff at the idea of finality and is not the lover insensible or oblivious of death or division? But while life was gaily rolling on, a sudden thunder-clap was heard. In a few moments heavy banks of cloud swept across the clear sky and darkness descended upon that little home of faith and devotion. The darkness deepened—the sky became ominous—the loved-one hitherto deemed immortal suddenly lay in the grip of death. Prayers and vigils and gifts and tears were fruitless all—unrelenting was death, heedless the fates. The light was extinguished, the sun of love for ever set. What is this all ?—uttered the lover submerged in the tide of grief.

Prostrate, forlorn, stricken said he : Is this divine justice or the work of some malevolent spirit who revels in the misery of man ? Who can reconcile the mercy of God with the oft-recurring tragedies of life ?

حدیث از مطرب رمی گو رراز از دهر کمتر جر  
که کس نکشود و نکشاید بحکمت این معما را

Gone, she was gone for evermore. I pictured to myself the death-scene : the grief-steeped atmosphere of the room ; the utter despair of those in it ; the end of hope ; the victory of death. I thought of the beautiful Quatrain of Omar :

چون عهد نه شود کسی فردا را  
حالی خوش کن تو این دل شیدا را  
می خور بنور ماه ای ماه که ماه  
بسیار بجوید و نیابد ما را

Heart-breaking was the final farewell when the funeral passed out of the house which she had adorned for years with sweetness and light :

پہرتی نہ تھی جو پردہ نشین کمر میں بے حجاب  
 لش اس کی جاء سے سر بازار ہلی ہلی

To the grave-yard where she now sleeps the eternal sleep of death, she was taken. And there, in solemn silence, with no roof except that of the heaven; in the cold, cheerless grave ; with no companion save the soft, sobbing breeze, mourning over the transitoriness of life, and the shining stars mocking at the earthly splendour—she was laid to rest.

The story filled me with sadness. I tried to imagine the feelings of one bereft of the one and the only joy of life. Did not for such an one Mir Dard compose the following couplet ?

ہم کس ہوس کی تجھ سے فلک جستجو کریں  
 دل ہی نہیں رہا ہے کہ کچھ آرزو کریں

The spring was taken out of his life—leaving it barren, dismal for evermore. Yes! In silence we must all bear our cross. The heart will not yield its secrets—will not unveil itself to an unhallowed gaze.

تا بکی نا معرم چاک جگر خواہم نمود  
 من کہ زخمش را نہاں از چشم سوزن داشتم

I thought too of the feelings of the lover on that terrible night. Thirty-one years ago, almost to the day, he had led her home as a bride : young, beautiful, resplendent in bridal dress, a vision of delight. The world then was a paradise of loveliness. It had naught but joys and joys to offer and to reap. No sorrow or the shadow of a sorrow then fell across that festive board ; no fear or the apprehension of fear wrecked or threatened to wreck its spotless radiance. Life seemed one vast expanse of unsullied splendour. What brush can paint, in all the living hues of art,

the lover's dream ? What pen can portray the intensity of the lover's delight ?

And thus life rolled on from year's end to year's end—deepening, intensifying, mellowing love. And if such were his feelings on the wedding night—try, dear reader, to realise them on that mournful night when that chapter of romance was closed and that loved-one taken for evermore from him :

سنبھالنے دے مجھے اے نا امید کی قیامت ہے  
کہ دامن خیال یار چھوڑتا جاے ہے مجھے

And does not the distracted mind, in the throes of so shattering an affliction, forthwith revert to vanished days, clinging to old memories, seeking comfort in their unrobbed possession. The past unfolds itself; time and distance are instantaneously annihilated; what was, what is, torments, tortures the soul. Sheer helplessness and all-conquering despair alternate in calming or unruffling the soul. 'No thorn goes deeper than rose's and love is more cruel than lust.' The once radiant face, now wan and pale; the silvery arms, crippled and motionless; the lustrous eyes cold, expressionless; the body, once surging with life and animation, still, breathless; the bridal dress exchanged for the white, stainless shroud; the agonising thought of eternal farewell—what heart will not break at this tragedy?

مد حیف کہ گلرخان کفن پوش شدند  
روز خاطر یکدگر فراموش شدند  
آنها کہ بعد زبلن سخن می گفتند  
آیا چه شنیدند کہ خاموش شدند

Often and often I have thought of this sad story, a story by no means unique or rare; for is not life full of such tales of woe? "Never morning wore to evening but some heart did break"—is no mere poetic flight but sober expression of ruthless reality.

زانکہ عشق مردگان پاینده نیست  
زانکہ مرده سوری ما آیندہ نیست

wrote the great Jalaluddin with an ecstatic fervour. And is not that the teaching of all religions; the quintessence of all philosophy; the lesson borne in by all earthly experience? Everything beneath the " azure vault " passes away and alas ! all too soon.

The fool's paradise is but a station on the way to the paradise of eternal Beauty and Truth. But it is not every pilgrim that reaches that fondly-coveted but distant goal. Steep and slippery is the path; difficult and perilous—the journey.

The only equipment for that toilsome march is the stern discipline of mind and body and, not infrequently, such a discipline results from some crushing sorrow or some divine light. Then and then alone the fetters, which chain us to this earth, are broken and flung aside. Then alone the soul is freed from its bondage and the body really brought under proper control. Then a new world of thought and deed is ushered in : a world where the highest wealth is the wealth of Righteousness; the greatest distinction is the distinction of Self-effacement ; the noblest crown is the crown of Resignation, attainable by the humblest of mankind. There, in that liberated world, there is no hope to vex ; no ambition to tempt ; no disappointment to hurt or afflict the soul. There is but one Love there—the Love of Him who never dies and there is but one Rule of Conduct the Rule of Righteousness

And it was the discovery of this world which called forth a plaintive note from Hafiz :—

بچشم عقل درین رهگذار پر آشوب  
جهان دگر جهان بی ثبات دبی معل اسف

and a piercing cry from Kasim-i-Anwar

جز از نیست در سرائی رجود  
از خدا خوار دیده بینا

## THE PHILOSOPHY OF SHELLEY

## PART II.

Shelley writes to Hogg,<sup>1</sup> "I now most perfectly agree with you that political affairs are quite distinct from morality—that they cannot be united."

Ethics and Politics.

His language becomes stronger when writing to Miss Hitchener;<sup>2</sup> he says, "I firmly believe that Religion, its establishment, Polity, and its establishments, are the formidable, though destructible barriers" to Virtue. But in another<sup>3</sup> letter he adds "Political rights also ought only to be forfeited by immorality." A subsequent letter to her<sup>4</sup> modifies the view expressed to Hogg and he adds "Southey says Expediency ought to [be] made the ground of politics, but not of morals. I urged that the most fatal error that ever happened in the world was the separation of political and ethical science; that the former ought to be entirely regulated by the latter, as whatever was a right criterion of action for an individual must be so for a society, which was but an assemblage of individuals; 'that politics were morals comprehensively enforced.'" This new idea assumes a more definite form in Shelley's *Declaration of Rights*, Article XIX, which, as we have noted before, runs thus—

"Expediency<sup>5</sup> is inadmissible in morals. Politics are only sound when conducted on principles of morality: they are, in fact, the morals of nations."

Shelley attributes the unparalleled progress in literature and the arts in the age of Pericles to a combination of moral and political circumstances.

Letter No. 45 (of May or August, 1811) in Ingpen's edition of Shelley's Letters.

Letter No. 61 (June 25, 1811).

Letter No. 61 (October 8, 1811).

Letter No. 118 (January 7, 1812).

Cf. "Not that I ever will abet expediency, either in morals or politics. I never will do ill that good may come, at least, so far." *Ibid*, vide Letter No. 127 (of 27th February, 1812, to Miss Hitchener).

Thus we note how Shelley's political philosophy is intimately connected with his ethical philosophy and how, therefore, by a natural process of evolution he passed on from consideration of political ideas to that of moral ones. We too have proposed to follow this trend in Shelley's development and have passed from a study of his political and social views to the question of Shelley's ethical ideas.

"Morals and politics can only be considered as portions of the same science, with relation to a system of such absolute perfection as Plato and Rousseau and other reasoners have asserted, and as Godwin has with irresistible eloquence systematised and developed. That equality in possessions which Jesus Christ so passionately taught is a moral rather than a political truth and is such as social institutions cannot without mischief inflexibly secure."<sup>1</sup>

Having established the general principle of an intimate connection between politics and ethics Shelley goes a step further and makes<sup>2</sup> "the sinister influences of political institutions" responsible for that taint of human nature which theology calls original sin. Southey, he says, agrees in this matter with him and thinks these influences along with the prejudices of education to be "adequate to account for all the specimens of vice which have fallen within his observation."

Here Shelley shows the influence on him of Godwin's *Political Justice*, Book I, Ch. IV, Book II, Ch. VI and Book III, Ch. VII. Godwin very strongly condemns separation of politics from morality in Book II, Ch. I, of his *Political Justice* and dilates (in Book IV, Ch. VI, Appendix II) on the idea that "no question of morality can be foreign to the science of politics." According to Godwin political enquiry includes discussion of "regulations which will conduce to the

<sup>1</sup> I have changed the order in which these two sentences occur in "A Philosophical View of Reform" (1820), Chap. III, p. 70 (of Mr. T. W. Rolleston's edition of 1920).

<sup>2</sup> Letter No. 111 (January 2, 1812) to Miss Hitchener.



well-being of man in society" and these regulations may be, he holds, considered in two ways, the first being "those moral laws which are enjoined upon us by the dictates of enlightened reason." "Morality," he says, "is that system of conduct which is determined by a consideration of the greatest general good." \* \* \* "In like manner the only regulations which any political authority can be justly entitled to enforce are such as are best adapted to public utility." <sup>1</sup> In Book IV, Ch. XI, Godwin attempts to establish that ideas of good and evil are as essential in politics as in morality.

According to Plato too the connection between politics and ethics is very close, at any rate in an ideal state. But Plato goes a step further and suggests an intimate relation between ethics and theology which Aristotle is not prepared to accept. Shelley had not yet come under the influence of Plato's writings and his attitude is still that of a rationalist and sceptic.

Shelley was, as it now appears to us, indiscriminately<sup>2</sup> charged by critics of his time with immorality.

*Ethics and Theology.* Moral depravity was sometimes maliciously ascribed to the poet on some such principle as was laid down by Bishop Wilberforce that infidelity is due to moral degeneration. The French Protestant Pierre Bayle has, however, shown elaborately in his Critical Dictionary that so-called atheists like Spinoza are models of virtue as compared with an intensely religious man like King David, the man after God's own heart, who has to his credit a number of vices and many crimes.

In his Preface to *The Cenci* Shelley refers to "the combination of an undoubting persuasion of the truth of the popular religion with a cool and determined perseverance in enormous

<sup>1</sup> *Political Justice*, Book II, Ch. V.

<sup>2</sup> "I am told that the magazines, etc., blaspheme me at a great rate," says Shelley in his letter of July 12, 1820, to Peacock. The Quarterly Review was particularly bitter in its attacks on Shelley's character and charged him with being "shamefully dissolute" in conduct. Cf. also Shelley's letter to Southey from Pisa of August 17, 1820; to Charles and James Ollier of January 20, 1821, and of February 20, 1821; to Clara Jane Clairmont of June 19, 1821 and to Mary Shelley of August 7, 1821.

guilt." After having dwelt on the difference between religion in Protestant countries and in Italy, he adds "it is (with an Italian Catholic) adoration, faith, submission, penitence, blind admiration; not a rule for moral conduct. It has no necessary connection with any one virtue. The most atrocious villain may be rigidly devout, and, without any shock to established faith, confess himself to be so. Religion pervades intensely the whole frame of society, and is, according to the temper of the mind which it inhabits, a passion, a persuasion, an excuse, a refuge; never a check. Cenci himself built a chapel in the court of his palace, and dedicated it to St. Thomas the Apostle, and established masses for the peace of his soul."

Shelley declares that "a proof of the existence of a Deity or even the divine mission of Christ, would in no manner alter one-idea on the subject of morality."<sup>1</sup> "Morality, or the duty of a man and citizen, is founded on the relations which arise from the association of human beings, and which vary with the circumstances produced by the different states of this association. This duty, in similar situations, must be precisely the same in all ages and nations. The opinion contrary to this has arisen from a supposition that the will of God is the source or criterion of morality."<sup>2</sup>

Here Shelley is definitely intuitive as a moralist and has the support of writers like Cudworth with whom good and evil are immutable verities and Clarke according to whom moral obligations are independent of God's will. "I can by no means conceive," he says again, "how the loftiest disinterestedness is incompatible with the strictest materialism."<sup>3</sup> "'The just man made perfect' I doubt not of: but to this simple truth where is the necessity of annexing fifty contradictory dogmas,

<sup>1</sup> Letter of May 16, 1811, to Janetta Philipps.

<sup>2</sup> "A Letter to Lord Ellenborough, occasioned by the sentence which he passed on Mr. D. I. Eaton" (1812). Cf. also the next paragraph of that letter which is too long to quote here.

<sup>3</sup> Letter of July 29, 1812, to William Godwin.

in order that men may destroy each other to know which is right? " <sup>1</sup>

Shelley's attitude raises a very important question as to the relation between the moral sentiment and the religious sentiment. Morality has more or less sought the aid of the religious idea for its higher sanction. Shelley reduces the religious idea to a primitive human sentiment of a fear, or at best awe, of an inscrutable Power and in that view is not altogether unjustified in dissociating the two sentiments. But such a view of ethics is not accepted, for instance, by such modern writers as Wundt, <sup>2</sup> though Shelley has, no doubt, the support of Hume.

Before the rise of rationalism, as it is conceived by the Deists, an intimate relation between morals and religion as we find, for example, advocated by scholastic philosophy, is supposed to exist and sought to be established by philosophical arguments, and revelation is considered to be their ultimate foundation. Generally speaking, free-thinking is responsible for a practical separation of morality from religion. This may account for the fact that Butler's tendency in his famous *Analogy* is on the whole towards the doctrine that all morality is founded on the will of God. But Richard Price contended that even the will of God cannot alter the nature of things and therefore God could not make right what in its essence was not right. But according to Price, though not dependent on the will of the Deity, morality is inherent in His nature. Shelley was, as we have already noted, influenced by Price and the strong language used by Shelley in the passages quoted may have something to do with Paley's attitude in his "Moral and Political Philosophy" towards virtue as dictated by the will of God and exercised by man for the sake of everlasting happiness. The idea of such rewards and punishments was repugnant to Shelley (*cf.* *Speculations on Morals*, I and

<sup>1</sup> Letter [of November 20, 1811], to Elizabeth Hitchener.

<sup>2</sup> Wundt's *Physiological Psychology*, Vol. II, Ch 18.

ch. I). The vehemency with which Shelley passionately condemns expediency in several places may also be due to Paley's doctrine that "whatever is expedient is right."

Though slander and calumny did its worst in degrading Shelley in the eyes of his contemporaries and pursued him even in his quiet retreat in the paradise of exiles, his character has been sufficiently vindicated by the dispassionate judgment of later days. Mr. Brailsford puts very strongly the other side of the case when he says—"One may doubt whether a saint<sup>1</sup> has ever lived more selfless, more devoted to the beauty of virtue \* \* The doctrines of perfectibility and universal benevolence clothed themselves for him in the Godwinian phraseology, but they were the instinctive beliefs of his temperament." "Shelley followed in action the principles of universal benevolence." We know how passionate was his life-long love for his fellow-men. Medwin's is an eloquent testimony to Shelley's strong moral qualities even when he was very young and flared up with intense horror and indignation whenever he heard or read of some flagrant act of injustice, oppression, or cruelty. His hatred of tyranny, intolerance, vengeance, retaliation, war, commercial greed, aristocratic pride, luxury, selfishness, sensuousness, not to speak of sensual pleasures, falsehood and insincerity or hypocrisy is a remarkable trait of his noble character. Forgiveness was of the essence of his very nature as we find in his relation with Hogg. Philanthropy was the rule of his life and by disposition he was extremely charitable. "In no individual perhaps was the moral sense ever more completely developed than in Shelley; in no being was the perception of right and wrong more acute," says this very Hogg. "Love was the root and basis of his nature."<sup>2</sup> Shelley's antipathy to Lord Byron, for whose genius he had almost unbounded admiration,

According to Hogg the purity and sanctity of his life was conspicuous.

"Shelley" by J. A. Symonds—English Men of Letters, Pocket Edition, p. 31.

on account of Byron's mode of life in Italy, especially at Venice, is another proof of Shelley's high moral standard. Byron bears witness to Shelley's simplicity, delicacy, unworldliness, and disinterestedness. "He had formed," says Byron, "to himself a *beau idéal* of all that is fine, high-minded and noble, and he acted up to this idéal even to the very letter." Helping whoever was in need and nursing the weak, helpless and sick was habitual with Shelley, especially when he was at Marlow. Self-denial forms a special feature of his character. In Trelawny's language "Shelley loved everything better than himself." Mr. Symonds closes his brief account of the impression made on Trelawny by Shelley with the memorable words—"True to himself, gentle, tender, with the courage of a lion, frank and outspoken, like a well-conditioned boy, well-bred and considerate for others, because he was totally devoid of selfishness and vanity." Shelley seemed to this unprejudiced companion of his last few months that very rare product for which Diogenes searched in vain—a man." And again "Shelley in his lifetime bound those who knew him with a chain of loyal affection, impressing observers so essentially different as Hogg, Byron, Peacock, Leigh Hunt, Trelawny, Medwin, Williams, with the conviction that he was the gentlest, purest, bravest, and most spiritual being they had ever met. The same conviction is forced upon his biographer." <sup>2</sup>

In defending vegetarianism (which he practised)<sup>3</sup> Shelley says, "all vice rose from the ruin of healthful innocence." He lived almost an ascetic life and strongly insisted on "abstinence from animal food and spirituous liquors." In his note on this topic (Notes to *Queen Mab*) he says, "I address myself not only to the young enthusiast, the ardent devotee of truth and virtue, the pure and passionate moralist, yet unvitiated by the contagion of the world. He will embrace a pure system, from its

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 162-63.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 187.

<sup>3</sup> *Queen Mab* (VIII. 211-218); *Revolt of Islam* (V. LVI and LVII).

abstract truth, its beauty, its simplicity, and its promise of wide-extended benefit," displaying thus his intense moral zeal. The supremacy of this moral zeal in Shelley is an important factor in his attitude towards life and its problems in the early phase of his poetry. It is clear that his moral enthusiasm to a great extent eclipses his artistic instinct as a poet in *Queen Mab* and *Revolt of Islam* leading his critics to fasten on him the charge of didacticism. That Shelley at all succeeded in clothing in eloquent and melodious verse an immature but very earnest reformer's heterodöx opinions on politics and religion so enthusiastically in *Queen Mab* was largely due to his inspiring moral fervour. Virtue is practically celebrated everywhere in this early production. The Fairy dwells on the "meed of virtue" and refers to the way in which wealth drives virtue, wisdom, truth and liberty (sec. II), speaks of the "consciousness of good which neither gold, nor sordid fame, nor hope of heavenly bliss, can purchase," adding that "the selfish vainly seek for that happiness denied to aught but virtue" (sec. V), spurs the human spirit "to the goal where virtue fixes universal peace," exhorting it to bravely hold its course under the guidance of virtue firmly pursuing the gradual paths of an aspiring change, for, the "fixed and virtuous will" never gives way before the conqueror, Time, and because

" Virtue shall keep

Thy footsteps in the path that thou hast trod,

And many days of beaming hope shall bless

Thy spotless life of sweet and sacred love" (Sec. IX).

Like Edgeworth's novels, Shelley's poems emphasize the promotion of human happiness as the *summum bonum* of life, thus making ethics in a way more important than orthodox religion. "I will publish nothing that shall not conduce to virtue, and therefore my publications, so far as they do influence, shall influence to good. My views of society, and my hopes of it,

Shelley's moral  
aim.

meet with congenial ones in few breasts. But virtue and truths are congenial to many. I will employ no means but these for my<sup>1</sup> object..." Again, "I have often thought that the moral sayings of Jesus Christ might be very useful, if selected from the mystery and immorality which surrounds them; it is a little work I have in contemplation."<sup>2</sup> Writing to Hookham, Shelley says, "if the discovery of truth be a pleasure of singular purity, how far surpassing is the discovery of virtue."<sup>3</sup>

His Platonic ideal of the pursuit of perfection makes necessarily of him, in the true sense of the word, a moral philosopher. All his biographers lay special stress on the decidedly moral bent of his mind. Like his great master, Plato, he combines bold and even reckless speculations with exquisite moral delicacy and refinement. Nay, as we have already remarked, this dominance of the ethical note in his writings full of moral fervour is to a great extent responsible for the charge of didacticism<sup>4</sup> which is alleged to mar the beauty of his early poetical works. "While he plainly expressed his abhorrence of the didactic manner, he held that art must be moralized in order to be truly great." "While he admired the splendour and inventions of Ariosto, he could not tolerate his moral tone."<sup>5</sup> Even in his theory of art as enunciated in the "Defence of Poetry" the moral excellence and value of poetry is sought to be established.

In his letter to Elizabeth Hitchener (December, 1811) he proposes the publication of a selection made from his "younger poems" claiming that she must give him credit for their morality. In the same letter occurs the remark—"Every prejudice

<sup>1</sup> Letter of February 24, 1812, to William Godwin.

<sup>2</sup> Letter of February 27, 1812, to Elizabeth Hitchener.

<sup>3</sup> Letter of March 6, 1813.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Sydney Waterlow in his 'Shelley' (The People's Books) rightly says—"Not for a moment, though, must it be imagined that he was a didactic poet." (Page 50.)

<sup>5</sup> J. A. Symonds, "Shelley" (English Men of Letters, Pocket Edition, pp. 111 and 112).

conquered, every error rooted out, every virtue given, is so much gained in the cause of reform." The next <sup>1</sup> letter in Mr. Ingpen's edition is to Timothy Shelley where the offending son says—"When convinced of my error no one is more ready to own that conviction than myself, nor to repair any injuries which might have resulted from a line of conduct which I had pursued." At the same time he very courageously and sincerely holds fast to his moral resolve never to promise to conceal his opinions in political or religious matters, because any methods employed either to hypocritically heighten the regret felt by him for having occasioned uneasiness to his father or to meanly concede what he considered his duty to withhold from him "would be unworthy of us both." How he indignantly spurned the hateful offer (called by him a bribe) meditated by his father and grandfather of granting him £2,000 a year, if forswearing his principles he would consent to an <sup>2</sup> entail of the family estate on his eldest son or his brother, is clear from the burning words suggestive of a high moral ideal occurring in that connection in his letter of 15th December (1811) to Elizabeth Hitchener. On no account even when hard pressed by severe want will Shelley reconcile himself to the loss of "conscious rectitude." His socialism strengthens here in his high moral resolve, for the property in question means "£120,000 of command over labour" which may be "employed for beneficent purposes" or the reverse. Equally significant is Shelley's refusal to accept Hogg's mad challenge to a duel on the grounds, first, of his having no right to expose his life or take Hogg's and, next, of Hogg's life being no fair exchange for his, for, Hogg in his relation with Harriet had failed to act consistently "with any morality whatsoever, whereas Shelley always acted up to his principles" (Letter to Elizabeth Hitchener of 15th December, 1811).

<sup>1</sup> Ingpen's edition of "The Letters of Shelley," Vol. I, p. 195.

<sup>2</sup> Paine too challenges the right or power of any description of men to bind and control posterity in his "Rights of Man" (page 12, Everyman's Library edition). Cf. Godwin's "Political Justice," Book III, Ch. II.



Referring to Scott's "Vision of Don Roderick" he says to Miss Hitchener (in his letter to her of June 5, 1811)—"I am not very enthusiastic in the cause of Walter Scott. The aristocratical tone which his writings assume does not prepossess me in his favour, since my opinion is that all poetical beauty ought to be subordinate to the inculcated moral.....that metaphorical language ought to be a pleasing vehicle for useful and momentous instruction."

This may sound apparently strange as coming from a person who later on, in the Preface to *Prometheus Unbound*, emphatically avers "it is a mistake to suppose that I dedicate my poetical compositions solely to the direct enforcement of reform, or that I consider them in any degree as containing a reasoned system on the theory of human life. Didactic poetry is my abhorrence; <sup>1</sup> nothing can be equally well expressed in prose that is not tedious and supererogatory in verse." But this, it may be urged, is Shelley in 1819-1820. He acknowledges, however, that he has "a passion for reforming the world." In the Preface to his *Revolt of Islam* too he admits—"I have sought to enlist the harmony of metrical language, the ethereal combinations of the fancy, the rapid and subtle transitions of human passion, all those elements which essentially compose a Poem, in the cause of a liberal and comprehensive morality...." There cannot be any doubt about Shelley's avowed moral aim and practice in his *Queen Mab*, portions of which are not only didactic but even rhetorical. There is a good deal of a sermonizing tone in that immature poem which Shelley vehemently disowned in later life. The simple fact is that practically up to the year 1816 Shelley was in a way more didactic than æsthetic. He wrote to the publisher John Joseph Stockdale on 18th December, 1810,—"I have in preparation a novel (which Mr. Ingpen supposes to refer to "Leonora"); it is principally constructed

<sup>1</sup> Cf. "A poem very didactic, is I think, very stupid." Shelley's letter of January 16, 1813, to Thomas Hookham (page 379 of Ingpen's *Letters of Shelley*, Vol. I).

to convey metaphysical and political opinions by way of conversation." Shelley's aim as an author in those days of 'immature enthusiasm is perfectly clear, from all such statements.

We learn from some of his letters of 1820 and 1821 how Shelley became somewhat disillusioned and disheartened by the reception the reading public gave him, will-nigh despaired of succeeding in improving the world by his poetry and even began to lose confidence in himself: Writing to Leigh Hunt from Marlow on December 8, 1816, he pleaded that he was not morbidly sensitive to the injustice of neglect. Yet says he—"I am undeceived in the belief that I have powers deeply to interest, or substantially to improve mankind....Thus much I do not seek to conceal from myself, that I am an outcast from human society; my name is execrated by all who understand its entire import—by those very beings whose happiness I ardently desire. I am an object of compassion to a few more benevolent than the rest, all else abhor and avoid me....Perhaps I should have shrunk from persisting in the task which I had undertaken in early life, of opposing myself in these evil times and among these evil tongues, to what I esteem misery and vice." These sincere and pathetic words are very significant. Possibly in this frame of mind Shelley wrote those lines in *Rosalind and Helen* (published in the Spring of 1819), ascribed to Lionel, which seem to have a reference to Shelley himself:—

"How am I changed! my hopes were once like fire:  
I loved, and I believed that life was love.  
How am I lost! on wings of swift desire  
Among Heaven's winds my spirit once did move.  
I slept, and silver dreams did aye inspire  
My liquid sleep. I woke, and did approve  
All nature to my heart, and thought to make  
A Paradise of earth for one sweet sake  
I love, but I believe in love no more:  
I feel desire, but hope not. O from sleep  
Most vainly must my weary brain implore

Its long-lost flattery now. I wake to weep,  
 And sit through the long-day gnawing the core  
 Of my bitter heart, and, like a miser, keep  
 Since none in what I feel take pain or pleasure,  
 To my own soul its self-consuming treasure."

This is, after all, a dramatic record and not strictly autobiographical. It should not surely be read as a sort of recantation. We must not take these lines too literally nor press them too far. Yet they give us an idea of a valuable change in Shelley. His *Prometheus Unbound* with all its passionate idealism was yet to come. That his enthusiasm for the cause of morality had not at all abated in consequence of want of popular support is evident from his letter of January 26, 1819, to Peacock in which he says—"At present I write little else but poetry, and little of that. My first act of "Prometheus" is complete, and I think you would like it. I consider poetry very subordinate to moral and political science, and if I were well, certainly I would aspire to the latter.\*\*\*"

Is it not very significant that when at the end of a bloodless revolution bringing about Jupiter's downfall, Hercules should be introduced as the agent to unbind Prometheus from his chains on Caucasus suggesting how power and strength must subserve a moral end? A single short speech is assigned to this character who addresses Prometheus thus:—

Most glorious among spirits! thus doth strength  
 To wisdom, courage, and long-suffering love,  
 And thee, who art the form they animate,  
 Minister like a slave. (Act III, sc. iii.)

Shelley was, it will thus be seen, always eager to advance the cause of morality as he was zealously earnest to practise in his life virtue as he understood it. Without being a didactic poet, except in his *Queen Mab*, he always cherished a high moral aim in all his poetry.

It may be urged that when Shelley composed *Cenci*, a drama based on the model of Elizabethan play-writing, he shook off this predilection for the nonce as he himself claims in his letter to Hunt of September<sup>1</sup> 3, 1819, that "it is nothing which, by any courtesy of language, can be termed either moral or immoral." That was, however, due to his having "laid aside the presumptuous attitude of an instructor"<sup>2</sup> on this special occasion and it has reference to the manner of treatment but does not strictly speaking apply to the theme. His theme in *Revolt of Islam*, *Prometheus Unbound*, *Cenci* and even *Hellas* (which belongs to a later date, autumn of 1821) is in essence the conflict between good and evil in one shape or other and that, of course, is a moral theme. Even in his *Defence of Poetry* where we note a definite change in his theory of poetry, he deals at some-length with the vexed question of the relation between art and morality. It is doubtful how far Shelley's claim that in its manner of (dramatic) treatment *Cenci* is more aesthetic than ethical can bear a close examination. At any rate Mary Shelley in her note to this drama refers to her husband's "desire to *diffuse* his opinions and sentiments with regard to human nature and destiny" as "the master passion of his soul" (*italics mine*).

The moral bias of his mind is clear also from his depreciation of Michael Angelo as compared with Raphael, for the former seems to him "to have no sense of moral dignity and loveliness."<sup>3</sup>

Most of his judgments on the Italian painters indicate to what extent they were influenced by the moral bent of his mind. His theory of art as enunciated in his *Defence of Poetry* shows equally the predominance of the moral cast of his mind.

"I am preparing," says Shelley in another<sup>4</sup> letter, "an octavo on reform" and adds "I intend it to be an instructive and

<sup>1</sup> Ingpen's edition of Letters of Shelley, Vol. II, p. 718.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 690.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 712.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, p. 760.

readable book, appealing from the passions to the reason of men." Mr. Roger Ingpen suggests that the reference probably is to "A Philosophical View of Reform."

Speaking of the perpetual temptation he felt for translating the Greek plays and some of the ideal dramas of Calderon, he says to Hunt—"I have confidence in my moral sense alone; but that is a kind of originality."<sup>1</sup>

It is quite clear from the few facts of Shelley's moral ideal and of his moral life that we have put together as well as the moral aim of his writings indicated by the quotations made from his letters that though Godwin's influence on Shelley was immense still several writers on Shelley have overstated the case by trying to prove that Godwin alone or mainly shaped his mind and that Godwin's influence continued to exert itself to the end of Shelley's life. Godwin's philosophical anarchism is not at any rate applied by Shelley to his practical views regarding politics, society and morals. The nature and extent of that influence can be more properly appreciated by estimating rightly the points of resemblance and difference between the master and the disciple.

The letter to Lord Ellenborough as Shelley's protest against the sentence passed on Eaton in May, 1812, for publishing Part III of Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason*, is inspired by his passion for justice, impatience with intolerance, championship of innocence and fervent regard for truth that "vivifies and illuminates the universe."

#### Ethical Note

He rightly observes that "volition is essential to merit or demerit;" but belief being "an involuntary operation of the mind" and an "apprehension of the agreement of the ideas which compose any proposition" should not be a matter for penalisation by law. His apology for addressing such a letter is lest the presiding officer of a responsible law court should even "inadvertently punish the virtuous and reward the vicious" and

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 755.

he reminds the noble Lord that people submit to the authority of a court "on no other conditions than *that its decrees* should be conformable to justice," and that "policy and morality ought to be deemed synonymous in a court of justice."

He is indignant owing to Eaton, the publisher, being punished with imprisonment because as a Deist he has questioned established opinions—"You persecute him," Shelley says to the judge, "because his faith differs from yours" and then seriously asks, "Do you think to please the God you worship by this exhibition of your zeal?"

*(To be continued.)*

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

## Reviews

**Sarva-Siddhānta-Saṁgraha**—By Sankarācārya. Critically edited, translated and annotated by Prem Sundar Bose, M.A., Professor of Philosophy, Visvabharati.

The Sarva-Siddhānta-Saṁgraha was for the first time edited and translated by Prof. M. Rangācārya, M.A., Rao Bahadur, of Madras Presidency College about two decades ago. The learned Professor endeavoured to make his book useful to scholars and lay-men alike and his glossary of Sanskrit technical words with their English translation and the informing introduction, in which he discussed the question of authorship, evidently added to the value of the book. The book of course had its shortcomings which are naturally excusable in a pioneer work. Prof. Bose has accordingly brought forward a fresh English translation with his annotations with a view to present to the learned world a thoroughly reliable English rendering free from the drawbacks of the previous edition. We have not yet got the original text as edited by him, which should be a necessary companion to the present book. Prof. Bose has succeeded in giving us a compact English rendering, in which the extra-textual additions of Prof. Rangācārya have been carefully dispensed with. But it must be admitted in the interests of truth that the major portion of these extra-textual additions was helpful for a convenient understanding of the Sanskrit text. It is naturally to be expected that the present book must be a distinct improvement upon its predecessor and in fact this is the only *raison d'être* of such reduplicated endeavours. Of course in several places the present book gives improved version; but in several other places the translation appears to be bald and inexpressive. Not only that, the obvious mistakes and errors of the previous translation have not unfrequently been repeated in the present translation, which could have been avoided if the present author cared to cultivate a first-hand acquaintance with the representative works of the several systems of philosophy, whose fundamental principles have been sought to be epitomised in the original work. We should take care to state specific instances in support of our position. Leaving aside the question of details, it must be confessed that the present work, which is attributed to the great Sankarācārya, the leading protagonist, if not the founder, of the Advaita Vedānta School, is

neither a successful epitome nor a dependable representation of the original systems of thought. Prof. Bose assures us that "Of all works of its kind known so far, the *Sarva-Siddhānta-Saṁgraha* seems to be the best as an introduction to Indian Philosophy." But this statement of his view will hardly be accepted as a tenable proposition. Not to speak of Mādhavācārya's *Sarvadarśana-saṁgraha*, which will ever remain as a monument of scholarship and fidelity to the various schools of thought, even the *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya* with Guṇaratna's commentary is a far better and more reliable work than the present *Saṁgraha*, which does not possess a single feature of scholarship, far less of talent. From this point of view the present writer's labour seems to be a labour not usefully employed, particularly so when we have already in the field a critical edition and translation of the work, which has not outlived its usefulness despite its errors of omission and commission. Prof. Bose has not discussed the vexed question of authorship either in the Foreword, which is disappointingly brief, or in the notes. Apart from its intrinsic merits, which are not overwhelming, the original *Saṁgraha* seems to be the handiwork of an amateur philosopher, and whoever he may be, it is almost positive that he is not the great Śaṅkara. The *Saṁgraha* speaks of the *Pūrva* and *Uttara Mīmāṃsā* with the *Devatākāṇḍa* sandwiched between as one science, as one organic whole. But even a tyro knows that Śaṅkara (or his school) would be the last person to subscribe to this position. The theistic schools have propounded this doctrine in support of their theory of *Jñānakarmasamuccaya*, which has been vehemently opposed by Śaṅkara and his followers. In fact the burden of the *Gītābhāṣya* is a refutation of this doctrine, which cuts the very ground on which Advaita philosophy stands. Appayadīkṣita in his *Parimala* has taken care to state in a context 'which may appear by a stretch of imagination to support the contrary view' that though the expression 'dharma' (duty) denotes the meaning of Vedic texts, the *Dharma-mīmāṃsā* should not be held to be a component part of the science of twenty chapters as alleged (*ata iha tīkāyām dharmasābdasya Vedārthamātropalakṣaṇatvaṁ vadadbhiḥ dharmajijñāsā-sūtram Vedārtha-vicāraparam viṁśatīlakṣaṇisādhāraṇam aṅgīkṛtam iti na mantavyam. Br. Sū. 1. 11*). Śaṅkara too has vehemently controverted the theory of organic relation between the two *Mīmāṃsās*. This, we think, is sufficient evidence to prove the present work as a spurious attribution. Again, the *Vaiśeṣika* philosophy has been unduly extolled and this is manifestly incongruent with the denunciation of the same in the *Sārirakabhāṣya*, where it has been characterised as 'half-nihilistic.' Let alone this question of inconsistency, which may be ingeniously explained



away, the doctrine of three *pramāṇas*, accounted to the credit of the Vaiśeṣika, betrays an inexcusable ignorance of the philosophy which admits in common with the Buddhists only two *pramāṇas*, *viz.*, perception and inference. The definition of Viśeṣa is hopelessly confused. The description of salvation as a state of eternal bliss as a Nyāya doctrine is a "Himalayan blunder," which even a novice is incapable of committing. The praise of the Bhāgavatapurāṇa and that in a context of the Vedānta philosophy is too big a dose to be swallowed even by a credulous reader as the genuine statement of Sāṅkara. Again, there is a reference to the polemic whether there is only one *jīva* (individual self) or many such *jīvas*, a doctrine which was hotly discussed by the followers of Sāṅkara. But this question was in all probability a post-Sāṅkara doctrine. It is a pity that both the translators have missed the purport of the śloka which speaks of this doctrine (śls. 77-78). Besides, the importance of the doctrine deserves a separate comment, which, however, is conspicuous by its absence. The style of the original work again suffers by comparison with Sāṅkara's other works, both prose and verse. There are grammatical mistakes also. *Vivarta* is used as neuter and 'śoṇita' as masculine and this is impossible for Sāṅkara.

As regards the translation, it is for the most part good in its own way; but it abounds in inaccuracies which should have been avoided. Considerations of space forbid us to go into detail and we must be content to state only a few outstanding instances.

P. 10, Sl. 11. The first line is an obvious mistranslation, *avicārita-saṃsiddhā* means 'accepted *prima facie* without an enquiry.'

P. 11. *Vicāritaṃ* is 'discussed,' not 'maintained.'

P. 13, Sl. 6. The true import is misunderstood. The note 7 on pp. 81-82 makes a hopeless confusion of the Sautrāntika position with Yogācāra doctrine.

P. 14, Sl. 11. The reading 'apekṣā' is obviously a scribe's error for *upekṣā* and so the translation is wrong.

P. 20, Sl. 13. The sense is misunderstood.

P. 21, Sl. 23. 'ayoga' and 'anyayoga' are not happily rendered. A comment on these technical terms is necessary.

P. 24, Śls. 10-11. Unexpressive. The 'utkarṣasamā jāti,' being a technical expression, should have been explained. The translation is hopelessly non-committal.

Do., Sl. 12. 'prasaṃjyate' is not 'justified.'

P. 25, 81. 22. The translation carries a wrong impression, being based on the reading 'Kāraṇādyaiḥ.' The reading in the footnote tat 'Kāṇā-daiḥ' should be preferred.

P. 29, 5. Misunderstood. The first quarter speaks of the plurality of souls.

P. 81, 5. Misunderstood.

P. 92, 18. 'aprayojaka' is not 'inapplicable.' It means 'devoid of logical bearing and value.'

P. 93. The first half of 81. 19 is hopelessly misunderstood in both the translations. The meaning will be clear if in prāmānyeno'payujyate 'no'payujyate' is split off. The conjunction is evidently a scribe's mistake. The doctrine of the falsity of the individual soul and the affirmation of the 'universal soul' as the only reality and the description of mokṣa as 'supreme bliss' are too plainly Vedāntic to congrue with the Mīmāṃsā philosophy. At any rate it calls for a learned discussion but unfortunately it has been passed over by both the translators as if it were a commonplace doctrine of the Mīmāṃsā system.

P. 98, 17. 'Dambha' is rendered by 'arrogance' in both the translations. But this is never the sense of the word. It means 'humbug,' 'hypocrisy,' 'fraud.'

P. 98, 21. Misunderstood.

P. 44. 'Sattvaśuddhi' is not 'cleansing of one's being,' which is meaningless so far as the Yoga philosophy is concerned.

P. 47, 58. The order of Idā and Piṅgalā is inverted in the translation.

P. 50, 5. Not expressive.

P. 53, 32. The last sentence carries a wrong impression.

P. 58, 65. 'Līlayā' is not "graciously."

P. 60, 17. 'Vivartta' false appearance, 'adumbration' of Brahman is hopelessly vague.

P. 61. 'apañcīkṛtatanmātra,' is wrongly translated as "with the rudimentary elements yet unseparated" but this carries no sense. It denotes the uncompounded state of rudimentary elements in the fashion of Pañcīkarāṇa, in which each element is mixed up with the other elements resulting in the emergence of the synthetic gross elements.

P. 66, 57. The translation fails to elucidate the meaning of the text.

P. 67. 'ancestral world' is a bad translation for 'pitṛloka.'

P. 69, 73-75. 'Jiva' should not be translated by 'self' which has been used as an equivalent of 'ātman' elsewhere. Jiva and ātman particularly in this context mean two distinct things. The doctrine broached here relates to the controversy whether there is one jiva, embodied soul or many. The doctrine of one jiva is solipsism. Both the translators have misunderstood the meaning of the texts here.

P. 69, 73. The first line is misunderstood and the translation is absurd.

P. 70, 82. 'lakṣyate' is a technical expression. It means that 'it is understood by lakṣaṇā (implication).' The translation does not bring out the idea.

P. 79, 10-12. The note confounds the argument altogether. The argument is that there is no such thing as genus. The individuals alone exist and if genus were a distinct entity, it ought to be perceived as such as the back of the thumb is perceived distinctly (from the front).

The purpose of this rather long review is to draw the attention of the learned translator to these inaccuracies which should not go unchallenged. It is hoped that in a second edition these and other inaccuracies should be rectified and, if it is feasible, corrected notes may be embodied in an appendix, which can be annexed either to this or to the text portion, an edition of which, we believe, is forthcoming.

S. M.

**The Pātanjala Darśana**—By Babu Harimohan Banerjee, 5-1, Rasi Bose Lane, Calcutta. Price Annas eight.

This is an exceptionally interesting book bearing interpretation of the Pātanjala Sūtras, with a preliminary long Introductory chapter, bearing to light all subtle questions of the Yoga philosophy. It bespeaks the special parts of the author as a practical man in the way of the Yogic practices. There are many other interpretations of the same book, but none of them contains lucid explanation of spiritual ideas, and this is a book that is a free and full exposition of spiritual principles, imparting impressive ideas to the minds of readers.

In the first chapter of the book, the Samadhipad, the different forms of Samādhis known as Nirbiterka, Nirbichāra, Sampragñāta and Asampragñāta, so long not clear to the knowledge of men, have been clearly explained. In the second chapter, the Sādhanaṣṭāṅga, the ways and means how to

gain to the stage of Samādhi by the practices of Yama, Niyama, Prāṇāyāma, etc., have been well explained. In the third chapter of the book, the Bibhūtipāda, the particular attainments gained by Yoga practices, have been described. They are: how to have a perfect knowledge of the material world; how to study others' turn and temperament of mind; how to elevate the mind to the plane of space in the higher regions; how to attain to the Yogic excellences of Animā, Laghimā, etc. The fourth chapter, the Kaibalyapāda, deals with the firm location of the mind in its just place, the Chitta, explaining also how to do away with the tendency of the mind to deviate the Chitta from its just place to other places for which the mind has particular attachment; and firmly seated on Chitta in its just position, the mind rests in perfect peace in communion with the Supreme Being.

S. C.

**International Statistical Year Book (June, 1929).**—Published by the League of Nations.

Whatever might be the doubtful benefits of the League of Nations in the direction of establishing world peace on safe and secure lines, there is no gainsaying the fact that it has been rendering signal service in the securing of better economic conditions in the different countries of the world. The above book is the third edition of the International Statistical Year Book and the majority of the statistics are carried up to the end of 1927 or 1928. The relevant facts as regards area, population, migration movements, output of foodstuffs, minerals, manufactured products, freights, statistical facts relating to public finance and monetary statistics, rates of exchange and wholesale and retail prices are collected from the authoritative statistical year books, reports of public health departments, census returns, budget documents, and so forth. All agricultural statistics are collected from the International Institute of Rome. The International Labour Office has likewise collected all useful statistics on migration movements, unemployment, and retail prices. As a result of such co-ordinated action we find a set of highly useful facts and figures which can form the necessary material for accurate research.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

**Memorandum on International Trade and Balance of Payments, 1913-27, Vol. I (1928)**—Published by the League of Nations.

Fuller and more precise statements with brief explanatory notes of the trade statistics under exports and imports, specie movements, invisible imports and exports and capital movements, etc., are gathered in this volume than in the previous one and these are prefaced by an intelligent summary of the results which arise from an analysis of the world trade conditions in 1927 (see pp. 6-9).

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

**Memorandum on Production and Trade, 1913 and 1923-1927—Geneva, 1929.**—Published by the League of Nations.

Herein the growth of the population of the world between 1913-1927, the production of raw materials and foodstuffs and the growth of world trade are studied. The last chapter analyses the relative changes which have taken place in the prices of crude products and manufactured articles.

It would be impossible to indicate within the space of a short review the influence of these economic facts and tendencies. They rest on carefully compiled data. All research scholars must be obliged to the League of Nations for securing, analysing and disseminating the useful information concerning world economic conditions. Unfortunately the day has not yet arrived when the practical results of such information might be said to be exerting some influence on national or international economics. As a great variety of economic problems can be successfully studied with the help of these tables which cover a wide range of countries, we should be grateful to the League for presenting the material in a compact shape.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

**Political Philosophy of Rabindranath**—By Sochin Sen, M.A., B.L. Asher and Co., Calcutta.

The present publication will be received with welcome as the author has made here a laudable attempt to group together the opinions of the poet on topics concerned vitally with the body politic. Politics is surely the most engrossing subject to-day, and one feels interested in what

Rabindranath has to say on Hindu-Moslem questions; ideals of education—an important item in any nation-building programme; the vexed question of land, labour and capital; relations of man and woman; and last of all (is it because that is the only practicable proposition?), the charka as a means to the attainment of Swaraj. Rabindranath's observations on all these subjects deserve to be carefully noted, and Mr. Sen has done very well in presenting them to the public in a handy form. If this abstract of the poet's thought, in spite of minor blemishes of style and print, will help people to think for themselves, on these problems, it will have, we feel sure, served its purpose. There is no doubt that the book will be read with very great eagerness by the student both of Rabindranath and of Indian politics; Mr. Pramatha Chaudhuri's thoughtful foreword is an additional inducement.

But with regard to the remarks that are collected here, there is so much which should be said on each item and which has not been said by the author, that we feel the omission very keenly. They require some discussion to be brought out in their proper implications; the dish served before us is palatable no doubt, but it would have pleased more, had it been salted and seasoned a little with critical observations.

Those who try to understand Rabindranath will thank the writer of this handbook for having been the occasion of an article on the subject from the poet himself in the *Prabasi*, *Agrahayana*, 1336 B.S. There he says that some of the translations of the poet's observations in the book not being made by him, cannot give a correct idea of his own thought, that the book fails to give any organic idea of his political philosophy, that, though it is correct in parts, the *ensemble* is misleading. He, therefore, has given his own idea of the Indian politics, reviewing that idea historically as—says the poet—is strictly necessary for the right understanding of any human being whose train of ideas may appear at first to suffer from inconsistency but will be clearly understood if we care to observe the processes of growth at work. But we shall be going out of our way if we summarise or criticise the poet's view stated in that article, or for that matter, in the book under review.

P. R. S.

## Ourselfes

### A NEW PH.D.

Mr. Subodhchandra Mitra, M.A., has been admitted to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy on his thesis on

(1) On Modular Equations and Complex Multiplication Maduli of Elliptic Functions.

Sub-Thesis—

(1) on the Division of the Lemniscate into 9 equal parts.

(2) on the Complex Multiplication of Elliptic Functions with imaginary Maduli.

(3) on the Expansion of the product of two parabolic cylinder functions in a series of parabolic cylinder functions.

(4) on the roots of the confluent hypergeometric functions.

(5) on a type of Modular relations.

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DR. SUDDHODAN GHOSH.

A Mouat Medal has been awarded to Dr. Suddhodan Ghosh, D.Sc., on the report of the Examiner on his third year's research as Premchand Roychand Scholar in Scientific Subjects for 1926 being accepted by the Syndicate.

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### THE JUBILEE RESEARCH PRIZE IN LITERARY SUBJECTS FOR 1926.

The Jubilee Research Prize in Literary Subjects for the year 1926, has been awarded to Mr. Priyaranjan Sen, M.A., on his thesis entitled "The Influence of Western Literature in the Development of Bengali Novels."

THE JUBILEE RESEARCH PRIZE IN LITERARY SUBJECTS  
FOR 1927.

The Jubilee Research Prize in Literary Subjects for the year 1927, has been awarded to Mr. Priyaranjan Sen, M.A., on his thesis entitled "Development of Bengali Literature under the Influence of Western Culture."

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MAHARAJA SIR J. M. TAGORE LAW MEDALS.

To award the Maharaja Sir J. M. Tagore Law Medals, examinations will be held on Saturday, the 14th June, 1930, and Saturday, the 21st June, 1930, respectively, of the candidates who attended 75 per cent. of the lectures on (1) "The Fundamental Concept of Public Law" delivered in 1919 by Dr. W. W. Willoughby and (2) "The Development of International Law in the Twentieth Century" delivered in 1922 by Dr. J. W. Garner.

The candidates should state in their applications the name of the Law College where they prosecuted their studies in Law, and the year they attended the above mentioned Tagore Law Lectures.

No application will be entertained after the 14th May, 1930.

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The Griffith Memorial Prize in Science for 1928 will be divided equally among the following candidates :—

- (1) Subodhchandra Mitra, Esq., M.A., Ph.D.
- (2) Manmohan Sen, Esq., D.Sc.
- (3) Gurugovinda Chakravarti, Esq., B.Sc.
- (4) Subodhgovinda Chaudhuri, Esq., M.Sc.



MR. P. K. DAS.

We are glad to notice that portions of the paper on "New Light on Nature in the Age of Pope" written by Mr. P. K. Das, M.A., Professor of English, Krishnagar College, Bengal, have been published in the *Englische Studien* and also in the *Miscellaneous Notes of the Modern Language Review* (for April, 1928) and to announce that appreciative remarks on the paper have been made by such distinguished scholars as Professor C. H. Herford, F.B.A., Litt.D. (Cambridge and Manchester), Hon. Lit.D. (Vict. Wales), and G. C. Moore Smith, Esq., Litt.D., Emeritus Professor of English Language and Literature in the University of Sheffield, Hon. Ph.D. (Louvain), Hon. LL.D. (St. Andrews).

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"DIE DEUTSCHE AKADEMIE" ANNOUNCES THREE NEW  
SCHOLARSHIPS FOR INDIAN STUDENTS.

India Institute of "Die Deutsche Akademie," whose object is to promote cultural relations and better understanding between Germany and India, is pleased to announce that through the valued co-operation of the educational authorities of the state of Wurttemberg, three scholarships have been secured for worthy Indian students, who are to carry on post-graduate studies in Agriculture in the Agricultural College at Hohenheim, Engineering in the College of Technology at Stuttgart and Physics in the University of Wurttemberg at Tübingen.

These scholarships consist of only "free tuition fees," which will amount to about 400 marks or 20 pounds sterling a year and nothing more. These scholarships are tenable for one year; and on special consideration may be renewed for another year. The scholars will have to bear all other expenses except the tuition fees. Over and above his tuition fees a foreign

student in a German University, who wishes to live very inexpensively will require at least 150-200 marks or 8-10 pounds per month.

A candidate for any of these scholarships must be a graduate of an Indian, British or American University and must have a *fair knowledge of the German language*. He should give a brief account of his academic career and file with the application at least one testimonial of scholarship from a professor and a certificate about his knowledge of the German language. All applications must reach the Honorary Secretary of India Institute of "Die Deutsche Akademie," before the 1st of April, 1930. A committee of experts will select the three successful candidates—one for Agriculture, one for Engineering and one for Physics—and announce its choice on or about May 1st, 1930; and the winners of the scholarships will be promptly informed of the decision so that they will be able to make necessary arrangements to reach Stuttgart, before October 15th, 1930, to begin their regular college work from the winter semester of 1930. All Communications are to be directed to

Dr. Franz Thierfelder,

Honorary Secretary,

India Institute of "Die Deutsche Akademie,"

*Munich (Bavaria), Germany.*

THE COMMEMORATION VOLUME OF THE "BULLETIN OF THE  
CALCUTTA MATHEMATICAL SOCIETY."

The Commemoration Volume of the "Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society" is likely to be out in April, 1930, and will contain the following papers:

- (1) J. Larmor (Cambridge): The Transmission of Free  
Electric Waves in the  
Atmosphere, pp. 1-8.

- (2) H. Lamb (Cambridge): On the Flow of a Compressible Fluid past an Obstacle, pp. 9-16.
- (3) L. Bieberbach (Berlin): Zur Theorie der schlichten Abbildungen, pp. 17-20.
- (4) W. Sierpinski (Warswa): A Property of Ordinal Numbers, pp. 21-22.
- (5) F. W. Dyson (Greenwich): The Variation of Latitude, pp. 23-30.
- (6) L. Tonelli (Bologna): Sulle Equazioni Funzionale del tipo di Volterra, pp. 31-48.
- (7) L. Fejér (Budapest): Über einen S. Bernstein-schen Satz über die Derivierte eines trigonometrischen Polynoms und über die Szegö'sche Verschärfung desselben, pp. 49-54.
- (8) F. Riesz (Szeged): Sur l'approximation des fonctions continues et des fonctions sommables, pp. 55-58.
- (9) T. Takagi (Tokyo): On the Theory of Indeterminate Equations of the Second Degree in Two Variables, pp. 59-66.
- (10) T. Hayashi (Sendai): A Problem on Probability, pp. 67-74.
- (11) A. R. Forsyth (London): Geodesic Curves in some Triple Regions within Four-dimensional Flat Space, pp. 75-100.
- (12) G. Prasad (Calcutta): Presidential Address, pp. 101-108.

- (13) E. B. Hedrick (Los Angeles): On Certain Properties of Non-analytic Functions of a Complex Variable, pp. 109-124.
- (14) C. Caratheodory (München): Bemerkungen zu den Existenz-theoremen der Konformen Abbildung, pp. 125-134.
- (15) D. E. Smith (New York): Certain Questions in the History of Mathematics, pp. 135-138.
- (16) N. Lusin (Moscow): Sur une propriété des fonctions à carré sommable, pp. 139-154.
- (17) G. Prasad (Calcutta): On the Function  $\theta$  in the Mean-value Theorem of the Differential Calculus, pp. 155-184.
- (18) M. Fréchet (Paris): Sur un développement des fonctions abstraites continues, pp. 185-192.
- (19) R. Fueter (Zürich): Zur Theorie der Relativ-Abelschen Körper, pp. 193-198.
- (20) E. T. Whittaker (Edinburgh): Oliver Heaviside, pp. 199-218.
- (21) G. H. Hardy (Oxford) and J. E. Littlewood (Cambridge): Some Problems of Diophantine Approximations.
- (22) A. Sommerfeld (München): Über die Hauptschnitte eines polydimensionalen Würfels.
- (23) H. Hahn (Wien): Ueber unendliche Reihen und Absolut-Additive Mengenfunktionen.

- (24) A. N. Singh (Lucknow): Some Remarks concerning a Paper of Dr. Besicovitch.
- (25) N. R. Sen and N. N. Ghosh (Calcutta): Contribution to the Theory of Gravitational Field with Axial Symmetry.
- (26) Bibhutibhusan Datta (Calcutta): On Mahavira's Solution of Rational Triangles and Quadrilaterals.
- (27) E. Salkowski (Charlottenberg): Zur Theorie der Affin-minimal flächen.
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# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

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This illustrated monthly is the oldest and the best cultural paper in India. It contains the finest selections of articles of general interest treating of Literature, Poetry, Short Stories, Indian History, Economics, Religion, Folk-lore, Purāṇas, Philosophy, Education, Archaeology, Numismatics, Sociology, Epigraphy, Anthropology, Ethnology, Chemistry, Physics, Agriculture, Aryan Languages, etc. It is undoubtedly the best Oriental paper for the variety and quantity of information that it presents couched in a brilliant style and is very useful to students and scholars alike. Annual subscription Rs. 8-8. Always comes out on the 1st of every month. Each issue contains 130-140 pages.

Here is a short list of *some* of the articles that were published in this *Review* during the last year (Oct, 1928—Sept. 1929).

1. Influence of Indian Thought on German Philosophy—Dr. Helmuth Von Glasenapp, Berlin, Germany.
2. German Thought of To-day—Dr. Helmuth Von Glasenapp, Berlin, Germany.
3. System of Education in Germany with Special Reference to the Study of Oriental Languages—Dr. Helmuth Von Glasenapp, Germany.
4. Jainism, its Historical Importance and its Relations to Other Religions of the World.—Dr. Helmuth Von Glasenapp, Germany.
5. Ten Years Later—Sir Michael E. Sadler, K.C.S.I., C.B., D. Litt., LL.D.
6. New Concepts of Matter and Radiation—Sir C. V. Raman, Kt., M.A., D. Sc., F.R.S.

7. *Early Life of Buddha*—Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D.
8. *The Reform of Calcutta University*—Prof. J. W. Gregory, F.R.S., D.Sc., M.I.M.M., Glasgow University.
9. *Britons and Bengalis*—Francis H. Skrine, I.C.S., F.R. Hist. S., London.
10. *Affectations*—Katharine M. Wilson, Aberdeen, Scotland.
11. *Education Does Not Pay*—L. D. Coueslant, B. Sc., Principal, Patna Engineering College.
12. *Whom Should We Educate?*—L. D. Coueslant, B. Sc.
13. *England in Contemporary English Literature*—F. V. Wells.
14. *Present Tendency of Turkish Foreign Policy*—Dr. Taraknath Das, A.M., Ph.D., Munich, Germany.
15. *Development of Negro Poetry*—Gwendoline Goodwin, Sheffield.
16. *The Unity of Empire Farming*—Gilbert B. Hunter.
17. *Societal Speculation in Eur-America with special reference to Economics and Politics*—Benoykumar Sarkar, M.A.
18. *The Date of Zoroaster*—Priyaranjan Sen, M.A.
19. *The Poetry of William Butler Yeats*—by the Editor.
20. *Life of the Celebrated Sevagy*—Dr. Surendranath Sen, M.A., P.R.S., B. Litt., Ph.D.
21. *India and the British Commonwealth of Nations*—Dr. Taraknath Das, A.M., Ph.D., Munich, Germany.
22. *English Poetic Diction, 1579-1830*—Prof. Arthur Mowat, M.A.
23. *Milton's 'Satan'*—Prof. Arthur Mowat, M.A.
24. *The Tyranny of the Body*—Terésa Strickland.
25. *Purchase of Sterling*—B. Ramchandra Rau, M.A.
26. *The Study of History and Research*—Jitendrakumar Chakravarty, M.A.
27. *Thomas Hardy*—L. F. Stockwell.
28. *Nehru Committee's Report (A Critical Study)*—Akshaykumar Ghoshal.
29. *True Ideal of a University*—Dr. Abhaykumar Guha, M.A., Ph.D.

30. Plato and Plotinus on God—Dr. Abhaykumar Guba,  
Ph.D.
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